MISHMI GRAMMAR

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

GRAMMAR SERIES—11

Editor

Dr. E. ANNAMALAI

CIIL Grammar Series—11

MISHMI GRAMMAR

G. DEVI PRASADA SASTRY

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006

First Published : *August 1984*
Bhadra 1906

© *Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1984*

Price Rs. **15-00**

Published at the Central Institute of Indian Languages,
Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006 by E. Annamalai, Director and
Printed at the CIIL Printing Press, by M. G. Kanakram,
Asst. Director (Admn.).

FOREWORD

The Central Institute of Indian Languages set up in 1969 is entrusted with the responsibility of developing Indian languages through research training and material production. The Indian languages are at various stages of development from the point of view of the extent of elaboration of their functions and they require different treatments. Development of the tribal languages of the country involves many issues of policy, implementation and academic contribution. Some of them are to be reduced to writing and most of them need codification from the point of view of standardisation, preparation of grammar, dictionary and such other linguistic materials and production of written literature.

One of the primary activities of the Institute relating to its work on tribal languages is writing a grammar. The grammar is not only the first step in the direction of codification of the language but also is a basic material for the teaching and learning of the language. It also provides materials for the typological and areal comparisons for languages and for studies of language universals. The theoretical notions about grammar have changed substantially in the recent decades and many of the notions are to be tested with data from various little known languages. It is hoped that the grammar series of the Institute will fulfil at least partially these demands from linguists and language planners.

The grammars of various tribal languages, it is hoped, will lead to a handbook of Indian languages, which will be of great use to the students of linguistics in India. India has a long grammatical tradition and it is now absorbing the grammatical models developed in the West. It will be a worthy goal to achieve to develop a grammatical model for the description of Indian languages derived out of both traditional and modern developments.

(E. ANNAMALAI)
Director

PREFACE

The tribal people in India have for long lived in isolation except to be exposed for exploitation. They have not participated to their benefit in the socioeconomic development of the country. To come out of their isolation, it is necessary for them to learn the language of the majority people around them and a number of them have done so. But this bridges the communication gap only in one way and the whole burden of building up this bridge is carried by the minority group. It is necessary, however, for developing mutual understanding and good-will, to increase bidirectional communication between the tribal people and the majority of people of the region. For this purpose, the majority people, especially those who come in contact with the tribal people for various reasons such as civil administration, security, social service, trade, etc., should learn their language. The Grammar, which forms part of the package consisting of phonetic reader, bi- or trilingual dictionary and teaching manual is prepared to help them in their learning of the tribal language.

The organisation of the Grammar is based on grammatical functions rather than on grammatical forms. This will help the new learner to find easily how the different functions, which he already knows and wants to express, are formalised in this language. Since this Grammar is primarily meant for pedagogical purposes, theoretical discussions and justifications for a particular analysis are kept to a minimum. The Grammar is divided generally into two broad categories of noun morphology and verb morphology. A description of adjectives and adverbs precedes verb morphology. The chapter on syntax describes the order of the constituents at the surface level.

Though the Grammar is primarily aimed at the language learner and the teacher, it is hoped that it will also be useful to Linguists interested in typology and universals.

Data for the Grammar were collected in the field primarily from one informant by elicitation through word and sentence lists. They were then cross-checked with some other informants. The description may not be exhaustive and there might be gaps. There might be possibilities for alternative analyses. Comments and suggestions passed on to us will be useful to improve our future publication in this series.

E. Annamalai.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is the product of two field works in Arunachal Pradesh. The data were mainly supplied by Ms. Bimla Chai, Ms. Aruna Basumatari, and Ms. Dici Mihu. Mr. Akhil Chandra Boro did an excellent job of interpreting.

Mr. I.A. Khan, I.A.S., Deputy Commissioner and Mr. P. Bhaskara Rao, Executive Engineer of the Lohit District, provided the basic infrastructure needed to conduct the field work.

Dr. E. Annamalai, Director, supervised the work from its inception. I have received helpful comments on draft chapters from several people including Dr. M. R. Ranganatha and Dr. M. V. Sreedhar.

Mr. M. G. Kanakaram, Asst. Director (Admn.), was instrumental in hastening the printing of this book as well as the Phonetic Reader. Mr. V. Gopal, type-composed the manuscript impeccably. My colleagues in the CIIL Press did an excellent job of printing it.

All these people deserve much thanks; and no blame for the gaps and errors which remain.

-- G. Devi Prasada Sastry.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ... 1

PHONOLOGY ... 7

1.1. Phonemic Inventory ... 7

1.2. Analytical Criteria ... 7

1.2.1. Tones ... 8
1.2.2. Vowels ... 9
1.2.3. Consonants ... 10

1.3. Contrasts ... 13

1.3.1. Tones ... 13
1.3.2. Vowles ... 14
1.3.3. Consonants ... 16

1.4. Allophony ... 18

1.4.1. Tones ... 18
1.4.2. Vowels ... 20
1.4.3. Consonants ... 25
1.4.4. Clusters ... 31

1.5. Distribution ... 34

1.5.1. Distribution of Single Phonemes ... 34

1.5.2. Distribution of Clusters ... 36

1.6. Syllable ... 46

1.6.1. Structure of the Syllable ... 46

1.6.2. Syllable Boundary ... 46
1.6.3. Syllable Types ... 48

MORPHOLOGY ... 50

2.0. General Remarks ... 50

2.0.1. Word ... 50

2.0.2. Form Classes ... 50
2.0.3. Morphological Processes ... 53

2.1. Noun ... 55

2.1.1. Nature of Nouns ... 55
2.1.2. Classification of Nouns ... 56
2.1.3. Structure of Nouns ... 60
2.1.4. Pronouns ... 77
2.1.5. Case ... 82
2.1.6. Comparison ... 100

2.2. Adjective ... 101

2.2.1. Nature of Adjectives ... 101
2.2.2. Classification of Adjectives ... 102
2.2.3. Structure of Adjectives ... 103
2.2.4. Adverb ... 108

2.3. Intensifier ... 111

2.4. Particles ... 113

2.5. Verb ... 114

2.5.1. Nature of Verbs ... 114
2.5.2. Classification of Verbs ... 114
2.5.3. Structure of Verbs ... 123

SYNTAX ... 169

3.1. General Characterization ... 169

3.2. Noun Phrase ... 169

3.3. Verb Phrase ... 172

3.4. Reflexivization ... 178

3.5. Topicalization ... 179

3.6. Deletions ... 181

3.7. Relativization ... 184

3.8. Subordination ... 190

    3.8.1. Implication ... 190
    3.8.2. Conditioning ... 193
    3.8.3. Time Specification ... 194

3.9. Coordination ... 198

    3.9.1. Conjunction ... 198
    3.9.2. Reciprocal Constructions ... 199

TEXT ... 201

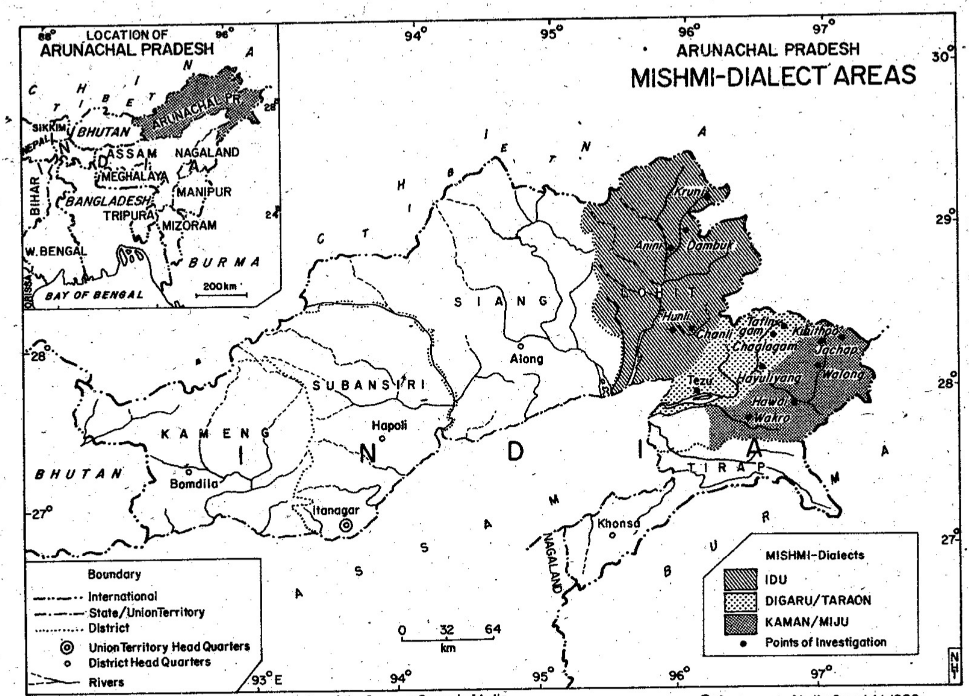
BIBLIOGRAPHY ... 208

ABBREVIATIONS

a	...	Aspect
[A]	...	Agent
Abl	...	Ablative
Acc	...	Accusative
Adj	...	Adjective
Adv	...	Adverb
Avz	...	Adverbializer
AR	...	Alter Reflexive
C	...	Concord
Cap	...	Capabilitative
Cau	...	Causative
Cl	...	Classifier
Comp	...	Comparative
Comt	...	Completive
Cond	...	Conditional
Conj	...	Conjunctive
Cont	...	Continuous
CF	...	Citation Form
[D]	...	Donor
Dat	...	Dative
Dec	...	Decisive
Def	...	Definitive
Det	...	Determinative
DF	...	Distant Future
Emph	...	Emphatic
[Exac]	...	Executor
[Exp]	...	Experiencer
Fem	...	Feminine
Fut	...	Future
[G]	...	Goal
Hab	...	Habitual
Hum	...	Human
i	...	Intensifier
Imp	...	Imperative
Impl	...	Implicative
Inst	...	Instrumental
Int	...	Interrogative
IF	...	Immediate Future

Loc	...	Locative
m	...	Modifier
Masc	...	Masculine
mov	...	Movement
n	...	Numeral
N	...	Noun
Neg	...	Negative
Nom	...	Nominative
NP	...	Noun Phrase
[P]	...	Place
Pa	...	Past
Per	...	Permissive
Pl/pl	...	Plural
Poss	...	Possessive
Pr	...	Present
Prob	...	Probabilitative
Pron	...	Pronoun
Rec	...	Reciprocal
RecP	...	Recent Past
Ref	...	Reflexive
RemP	...	Remote Past
Rep	...	Repetitive
Ret	...	Reportive
RD	...	Repetitive Durative
S	...	Sentence
[S]	...	Source
Sg/sg	...	Singular
t	...	Tense Marker
T	...	Time-neutral
[T]	...	Time
[T-beg]	...	Time-beginning
[T-end]	...	Time-end
temp	...	Temporal
V	...	Verb
Vz	...	Verbilizer
VC	...	Verb Complex
VP	...	Verb Phrase
$V(C)_o$	...	Ambient Verb (Complex)
$V(C)_1$	...	Intransitive Verb (Complex)
$V(C)_2$	...	Transitive Verb (Complex)

$V(C)_3$	...	Recipient Transitive Verb (Complex)
(1)	...	First Person
(2)	...	Second Person
(3)	...	Third Person



ARUNACHAL PRADESH
MISHMI-DIALECT AREAS

Based upon Survey of India map with the permission of the Surveyor General of India. © Government of India Copyright 1980.
The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.
The boundary of Meghalaya shown on this map is as interpreted from the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971, but has yet to be verified.

INTRODUCTION

Arunachal Pradesh, the land of the Dawn Mountains, is the North-Eastern tip of India, comprising five mountainous districts totaling 83,578 square kilometers. Formerly known as the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) it was ushered in as a full-fledged Union Territory in the Indian Union in 1975 and forms our international border with Bhutan, China and Burma. It is inhabited by 467,511 people living in some 2,500 villages (Census, 1971). The population is composed of a large number of tribes speaking some fifty different languages. The whole area is covered with the offshoots of the Eastern Himalayas with the exception of the long and narrow alluvial valley of the Brahmaputra at the foothills.

Lohit, with an area of 29,427 square kilometers is the largest district in Arunachal Pradesh and is named after the principal river which flows through it. The topography of the district is a continuous chain of mountains ranging in altitude from 500' to 17,172' save the lower belts. The total population is 62,865 living in altogether 424 villages. The district is the home land of the Mishmi, Padam, Khamti, Singpho, Zakhring and Meyer tribes besides some expatriate Deori and Nepali refugees. There are 69 schools and adult education centers catering to 4,976 students*. English is the State language, first language and the medium of instruction. Recently, however, the administration has accepted, in principle, both Hindi and English as State languages. The schools are patterned on the Central School system.

Major languages in this district are Mishmi spoken by nearly 22,561 people and Khamti, a Tai-Chinese language (Census, 1971). Mishmi has three principal dialects: Idu spoken in the Dibang valley and Digaru and Miju spoken in the Lohit valley.

(NOTE: Subsequently, during the reorganization of districts in 1981, Dibang valley was carved out of Lohit as a new district).

Mishmi belongs to the 'Tibeto-Burman' family of languages. This family, considered by many to be a branch of a larger Sino-Tibetan family, is, in terms of number of languages, the largest of any spoken in South Asia. These languages cover a vast territory ranging from Jammu and Kashmir in the West to Assam, Indo-

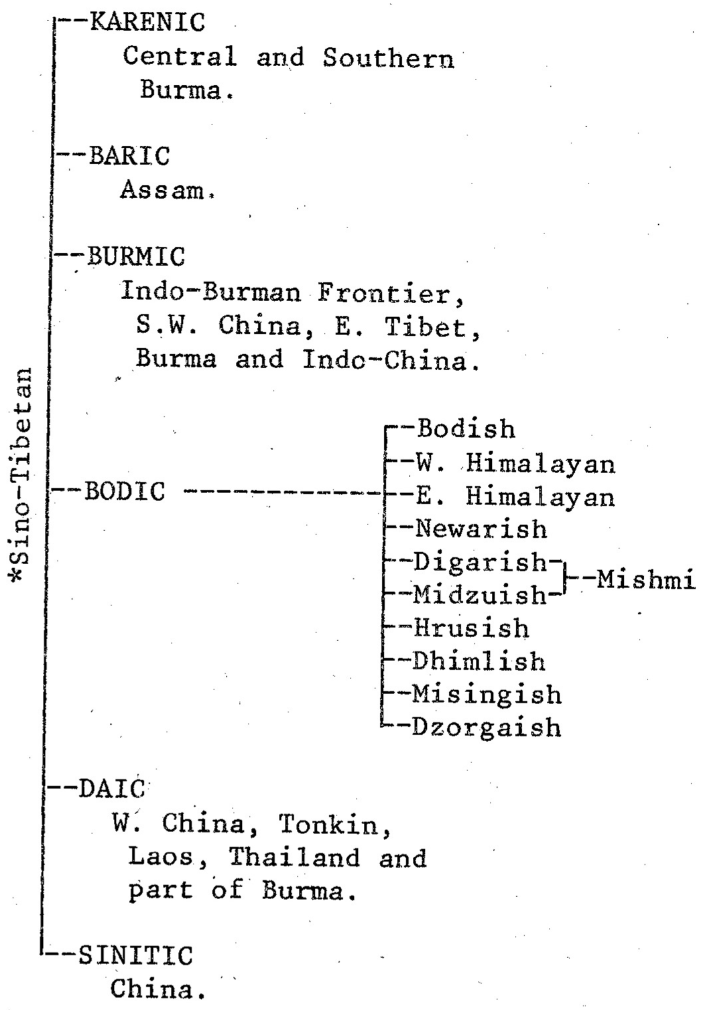
---

*Courtesy of Mr. Zakharia, Dist. Statistical Officer and Ms. Dici Mihu, Dist. Information and Public Relations Officer, Tezu.

China and parts of China in the east. The groups speaking these languages are highly isolated. A comparative analysis of data from even a fraction of these languages, some 300 in number, is extraordinarily difficult. The inaccessibility of many of the groups speaking these languages makes it difficult to accept the comprehensiveness of the current classification of these languages. These groups of languages commonly referred to as the 'Tibeto-Burman' languages, a usage dating back to the Linguistic Survey of India, do not constitute an autonomous group of languages. Rather, they constitute two of a total of six primary divisions of Sino-Tibetan family.

It is to be noted here that there is neither an autonomous 'Tibeto-Burman' nor a 'Sino-Thai' family, but rather a single Sino-Tibetan family branching off into the six divisions (Shafer, 1955). Three of these divisions have representatives in India, viz., Baric, Burmic and Bodic.

The Bodic division of Sino-Tibetan family is very complex. Shafer posits eleven sections of this division. Two of these sections would fall under a single sub-division, Mishmi, of which these form dialects.



The significant features of these languages are the subject-object-verb (SOV) word order, the exetnsive use of tones to convey lexical information and the use of 'auxilliary' words to express syntactic relationships.

Nothing much has been written either in or

---

*Shapiro and Schiffman (Sept., 1975).

about Mishmi. The most extensive work appears to be those of Grierson and Robinson. Recently, 'A Phrase Book in Idu' was published by the Arunachal Administration.

The present work is based on the data collected in two field trips during the winters of 1975 and 1976 in Tezu and Tafrogam from the Digaru dialect. The informants were Mr. Bramting So Tayang, Ms. Bimla Chai and Ms. Aruna Basumatari. The data on the Miju and the Idu dialects for the purposes of verification and cross-checking were provided by Mr. Lachab So Krong and Ms. Dici Mihu. An informant profile is given below:

Bramting So Tayang: He is the cultural and social organizer of the Arunachal administration at Tafrogam-Korliang Agricultural Project. He is twentyfive years old and finished High School. He also knows Assamese, Hindi and English.

Bimla Chai: A housewife from the Hayuliang area, she is thirty years old and is a High School dropout. She is bilingual in Assamese.

Aruna Basumatari: She is an eighteen year old school girl from Tezu. She knows Assamese, Bengali, Hindi and English besides her mother tongue.

Lachab So Krong: He is a twelve year old school boy from Hayuliang. He belongs to the Miju group of the Mishmis and knows English besides his mother tongue.

Dici Mihu: A twentyeight year old Idu from Anini valley. She is the District Information and Public Relations Officer in Lohit District Administration. She took her M.A. in Political Science from Banaras Hindu University. She speaks English, German, Bengali, Assamese, Hindi and French besides her mother tongue.

- - - -

PHONOLOGY

1.1. Phonemic Inventory

1.1.1. Tones:

(Tone is marked on the vowel nucleus).

Level ... V
Rising ... V́
Falling ... V̀
Rising-falling ... V̂

1.1.2. Vowels:

i		ɨ			u	
e	ẽ				o	õ
			a	ã		

1.1.3. Consonants:

p	t				k	
b	d				g	
	c					
	j					
		s				h
		z				
m		n			ṅ	
		l				
			r			
w				y		

1.2. Analytical Criteria

1.2.0. The unit taken for analysis is the 'word' (for definition refer 2.0.) phonologically described as the string of sounds occurring between pauses. However to facilitate the description, two more units are recognized within 'word' viz., the morpheme and the syllable. A morpheme is a minimal meaningful unit of speech. The syllable is described in section 1.6.

1.2.1. Tones:

All languages use pitch variation to convey semantic differences. The information conveyed may be syntactic (Intonation) or lexical (Tone). Tone languages are divided into two groups, Register Tone Languages where the tone marking the lexical item is comparatively steady throughout as opposed to Contour Tone Languages, to which Mishmi belongs, in which the various tones include some in which the essential feature is a changing pitch (Pike, 1948).

To classify the tones we need two parameters. One is the direction of the changing pitch. Here we get a three-way distinction, rising, falling and convex (Wang, 1967). The second is the feature contour. This feature distinguishes the level tones from the other tones. Thus we have four tones.

Level	...	(Not marked)
Rising	...	/
Falling	...	\
Rising-falling	...	^

1.2.2. Vowels:

The features that are used in the analysis and classification of vowels are -

(1) The part of the tongue used in the articulation. Here we get three points of articulation: Front, Central and Back.

(2) The height to which the articulator is raised. It is necessary to set up only three heights for classification: High, Mid and Low, since all other intermediate heights are predictable.

(3) The type of release: Oral and Nasalized. There are other features which, however, are predictable.

(4) State of glottis: All vowels are voiced.

(5) Position of lips: Rounded and Unrounded. The front and the high central vowels are unrounded whereas the back and the non-high central vowels are rounded.

	High	Mid	Low
FRONT (Unrounded)			
Oral ...	i	e	
Nasalized ...		ẽ	
CENTRAL - Unrounded			
(Oral) ...	ɨ		
Rounded			
Oral ...			a
Nasalized ...			ã
BACK (Rounded)			
Oral ...	u	o	
Nasalized ...		õ	

1.2.3. Consonants:

The analysis and classification of the consonants involves the following features:

(i) A seven-way division of the place of articulation viz., bilabial (BI), apicodental (AD), apicoalveolar (AA), apicopalatal (AP), frontopalatal (FP), dorsovelar (DV), and glottal (GL).

(ii) A seven-way division of the manner of articulation, viz., stop, affricate, fricative, nasal, lateral, trill and approximant.

(iii) A two-way division of the state of vocal cords viz., voiced and voiceless. This feature is an intraclass feature and the contrast exists only for stops, affricates and fricatives. The others are always voiced.

These features give rise to eighteen consonants.

	BI	AD	AA	AP	FP	DV	GL
Stop:							
Voiceless	p	t				k	
Voiced	b	d				g	
Affricate:							
Voiceless		c					
Voiced		j					
Fricative:							
Voiceless			s				h
Voiced			z				
Nasal	m		n			ṅ	
Lateral			l				
Trill				r			
Approximant	w				y		

There are four more features which are phonetically simultaneous but are phonemicized in the analysis as parts of consonant clusters.

(i) The aspirated stops and affricate are phonemicized as clusters of the stops/affricate and the glottal fricative - /ph/, /th/, /kh/ and /ch/.

(ii) The frontopalatal affricates are phonemicized as clusters of the apicodental affricate and the palatal approximant, viz., /cy/ and /jy/. The frontopalatal nasal and the fricative are phonemicized as apicoalveolar nasal/fricative and the palatal approximant - /ny/, /sy/.

(iii) The palatalized consonants are phonemicized as clusters of the relevant consonant and the palatal approximant - /ty/, /dy/ and /ly/.

(iv) The labialized trill is phonemicized as a cluster of the trill and the bilabial approximant /rw/.

Such a course of analysis is justified due to three reasons.

(a) There are a large number of various types of clusters in Mishmi.

(b) The phonemicization as clusters fills up some gaps in the regularity of the cluster distribution. As an example, we consider the palatal nasal [ň]. The bilabial and velar nasals form clusters with /y/ but neither the apicoalveolar nor the palatal nasal does, by phonemicizing [ň] as /ny/, two things are accomplished.

(i) The cluster formation becomes regular, i.e., /my/, /ny/ and /ṅy/.

(ii) We decrease the number of phonemes by one.

The same principle would stop us from analyzing the apicodental affricates as clusters of apicodental stops and apicodental fricative. (i) Stop+ fricative clusters do not occur as a regular pattern in this language. (ii) We will have to introduce a new phoneme, the apicodental fricative or introduce a morphophonemic rule assimiliating the apicoalveolar fricative to apicodental fricative.

(c) The segments, though phonetically unique, do not contrast with the corresponding clusters. Another point crucial to the analysis is that where the voiceless stop and glottal fricative occur on either side of an intermorpheme boundary, they are phonetically realized as an aspirated stop, without any regard for the morphemic status.

Ex: [khlèyk'] + [háwù] 'dust'
earth quality of fineness

gives [khlèyk^{h}áwù]

(d) By pursuing this line of analysis, we come to the last and perhaps the most important principle is economy. By phonemicizing them as clusters, we decrease the number of phonemes in the language without either changing the phonemic pattern or introducing new phonemes, i.e., the antecedent segments of the clusters, viz., h, y, and w already exist in the phonemic system.

None of these reasons by itself would suffice to arrive at this analysis. It is the fact that all these reasons hold good, that prompts us to analyze these segments as clusters*.

1.3. Contrasts

The contrasts are given for phonemes which differ in a single feature or are phonetically similar.

1.3.1. Tones:

(i)	/píya/	'bird'
	/pìyà/	'to bite (as a snake)'
	/piyà/	'to axe'
	/pîyà/	'to pack'
(ii)	/nyáṅ/	'to push'
	/nyàṅ/	'daughter-in-law'
	/nyaṅ/	'room'
	/kɨnyâṅ/	'nine'
(iii)	/kâníṅpá/	'opium cloth'
	/pà/	'axe'

---

*"Instances where the principle of economy unambiguously points to one interpretation rather than another usually turns out to be cases in which the other three principles would eventually lead to the same choice, without the addition of the fourth". - Hockett (1975), p.110.

/pâ/	'to cross'
/pa/	'yeast'

1.3.2. Vowels:

1.3.2.1. Contrasts for Height:

(i) /i/ - /e/

/í/	'to be'
/é/	'this'
/ní/	'to cut'
/né/	'breast'

(ii) /ɨ/ - /a/

/pɨ́rò/	'night'
/paró/	'pigeon'

(iii) /u/ - /o/

/ú/	'to pinch'
/ó/	'to shoot'

1.3.2.2. Contrasts for Point of Articulation:

(i) /i/ - /ɨ/

/gî/	'yam'
/gɨ̂/	'rain-hat'

(ii) /ɨ/ - /u/

/pɨ̀lu/	'woodcock'
/púlû/	'onion'
/tɨ́/	'to fold'
/tú/	'to sell'

(iii) /i/ - /u/

/í/	'to be'

/ú/	'to pinch'
/macábkárì/	'bull'
/kárù/	'head'

(iv) /i/ - /o/

/é/	'this'
/ó/	'to shoot'
/ké/	'paddy'
/kò/	'roof'

(v) /ẽ/ - /õ/

/tẽ́/	'to knit'
/katṍagrâyg/	'lizard'

1.3.2.3. Contrasts for Release:

(i) /e/ - /ẽ/

/pé/	'winnowing pan'
/pẽ́/	'curse'

(ii) /a/ - /ã/

/pla/	'salt'
/plã/	'to bend'

(iii) /o/ - /õ/

/ó/	'to shoot'
/õ/	'blacknest swiftlet'
/ko/	'skin'
/kõ/	'scout'

1.3.2.4. Contrasts for Height-Position:

(i) /e/ - /a/ - /o/

/é/	'this'

/à/	'child'
/ó/	'to shoot'
/ké/	'paddy'
/ká/	'vagina'
/kò/	'roof'

(ii) /ẽ/ - /ã/

/tẽ́/	'to knit'
/tã̀/	'fish'

(iii) /ã/ - /ɤ̃/

/chã́gẽ́yã/	'red-whiskered bulbul'
/tabróchɤ̃̀/	'hunter'

1.3.3. Consonants:

1.3.3.1. Contrasts for Place of Articulation:

(i) /p/ - /t/ - /k/

/pò/	'prison'
/to/	'tender nut'
/ko/	'skin'

(ii) /b/ - /d/

/bó/	'march'
/dó/	'cough'

(iii) /b/ - /g/

/brà/	'button'
/grâ/	'roar of a tiger'

(iv) /d/ - /g/

/dyú/	'Eleusine coracana'
/gyù/	'butter'

(v) /m/ - /n/ - /ṅ/

/tamá/	'medicine'
/tanâ/	'greens'
/táṅa/	'fish'

(vi) /s/ - /h/

/ásà/	'nerve'
/aha/	'thigh'

(vii) /w/ - /y/

/púyà/	'to pound'
/púwà/	'bitterness'

1.3.3.2. Contrasts for the State of Vocal Cords:

(i) /p/ - /b/

/pò/	'prison'
/bó/	'march'

(ii) /t/ - /d/

/to/	'tender nut'
/dó/	'cough'

(iii) /k/ - /g/

/kwág/	'dog'
/gwág/	'priest'

(iv) /c/ - /j/

/tací/	'prejudice'
/táji/	'height'

(v) /s/ - /z/

/só/	'to comb'
/zó/	'to break'

1.3.3.3. Contrasts for Phonetic Similarity:

(i) /r/ - /l/

/prà/	'virtue'
/pla/	'salt'
/ráṅ/	'cliff'
/wélàṅ/	'they'

(ii) /c/ - /s/

/có/	'to place'
/só/	'to comb'

(iii) /j/ - /z/

/táji/	'height'
/tazi/	'breast'

1.4. Allophony

1.4.1. Tones:

For the allophonic statement of tones, it is necessary to bring the concept of syllable as a reference point. We use the terms onset, peak and coda for the description.

Taking the pitch of the normal speech as mid, we can set up a three-way division of the pitch register, viz., high, mid and low. This parameter when combined with the two others used for classification gives rise to a six-tone system, of which some tones are predictable.

The diagram shown below is adapted from that given by Wang (1967) and the 'tone letter' notation at the top is that proposed by Chao (1924).

Feature	Tone:	1	2	3	4	5	6
		—	˧˥	˩˥	˧˩	˥˩	˧˥˧
Contour	...	−	+	+	+	+	+
High	...	−	+	+	−	+	+
Mid	...	+	+	+	+	+	+
Low	...	−	−	+	+	+	−
Rising	...	−	+	+	−	−	+
Falling	...	−	−	−	+	+	+
Convex	...	−	−	−	−	−	+

(i) The rising tone shows a variation as to the starting pitch register. The variant (Tone 3) is predictable. When a rising tone is preceded by a syllable carrying a falling tone, the rise starts from low. Note that, however, the end register is the same, i.e., high, for both.

Ex: The tone on the second syllable in

/pàsáyg/	'ant'
/hàtyó/	'hand'

(ii) The falling tone shows a variation as to the starting pitch register. The variant (Tone 5) is predictable. When a falling tone is preceded by a rising tone, the fall starts from high. Note that, here also, the end register is the same, i.e., low for both.

Ex: The tone on the second syllable in

/óyà/	'to shoot'
/pápù/	'mushroom'

(iii) For all other tones, i.e., the norms, the starting pitch register is always mid.

Ex: Level (1)

/tɨmìṅ/	'tail'
/tyo/	'tawny frogmouth'

Rising (2)

/ríṅ/	'sun'
/asyá/	'bison'

Falling (4)

/kwã̀/	'owl'
/taprɨ̀/	'wild dog'

Rising-Falling (6)

/gî/	'yam'
/gílû/	'soy-bean'

The pitch register at the coda does not vary.

1.4.2. Vowels:

The allophonic variants can be classified under five major heads. The fifth section gives the norm and the other four the variants. The environment for the variants is specified and the norm occurs in all other environments.

1.4.2.1. Length:

The oral vowels are lengthened when they occur in syllables carrying a rising-falling tone*. The long vowels are a little more than half-long.

/gî/	[gî.]	'yam'
/pîyà/	[pî.yà]	'to pack'
/tîga/	[tî.gà]	'embrace'
/dîblɨ̀m /	[dî.blɨ̀m]	'pandal'
/têṅa/	[tê.ṅa]	'collision'
/késyêblɨ̀m/	[kéšê.blɨ̀m]	'threshing floor'
/drâk/	[drâ.k']	'pineapple'
/kâníṅ/	[kâ.níṅ]	'poppy'
/grâ/	[grâ.]	'roar of a tiger'
/tɨ́kɨ̂/	[tɨ́kɨ̂.]	'speech'
/púlû/	[púlû.]	'onion'
/kôtràṅ/	[kô.tràṅ]	'wood pigeon'
/meẽtô/	[meʔẽtô.]	'bud'

1.4.2.2. Glottalization:

All vowels are glottalized when they occur after a pause or after another vowel in a cluster.

/íyà/	[ʔíyà]	'to be'
/é/	[ʔé]	'this'
/atyáṅrá/	[ʔat^{y}ÁṅrÁ]	'crab'
/asyá/	[ʔasÁ]	'bison'

---

*The nasalized vowels are always short.

/ɨ̀m/	[?ɨ̀m]	'feather'
/ɨrã/	[?ürã]	'woodpecker'
/tháà/	[t^{h}á?à]	'(he) eats'
/udyú/	[?ud^{y}ú]	'peafowl'
/úyà/	[?úyà]	'to pinch'
/óyà/	[?óyà]	'to shoot'
/meẽtô/	[me?ẽtô.]	'bud'
/álã/	[?álã]	'tusk'
/õ/	[?õ]	'blacknest swiftlet'
/árõ̀/	[?árõ̀]	'moth'

1.4.2.3. Tongue Raising:

(a) Nasalized vowels are higher than their oral counterparts. This feature, though relevant for phonetic description is not a variant feature, since this realization is the only realization of the nasalized vowels (Examples are given under the norm).

(b) The low central oral vowel is raised when it occurs in non-initial syllables carrying a rising tone. The variant is described as [A] higher-low central rounded short oral vowel.

/atyáṅrá/	[?at^{y}Áṅr Á]	'crab'
/mábáp/	[mábÁp']	'fox'
/macáb/	[macÁp']	'cow'

1.4.2.4. Backing:

The high central unrounded vowel [ɨ] is backed when it occurs in syllables carrying a level tone. The variant is described as [ü] high back unrounded short vowel.

/pɨgrî/	[pügrî.]	'leaf-bird'
/kɨjõ/	[küjõ]	'hornbill'
/ɨrã/	[ʔürã]	'woodpecker'

1.4.2.5. The Norms (or Basic Allophones) are given below:

(1) /i/ - [i] : High front unrounded short vowel.

/kapìṅ/	[kapiṅ]	'bat'
/syí/	[ší]	'claw'
/garwi/	[gar^{w}i]	'horse'
/jyím/	[ǰím]	'truth'

(2) /e/ - [e] : Mid front unrounded short vowel.

/métàṅ/	[métàṅ]	'mouse'
/piné/	[püné]	'trunk'
/kámé/	[kámé]	'flying-cat'
/taméyìṅ/	[taméyìṅ]	'elephant'

(3) /ɨ/ - [ɨ] : High central unrounded short vowel.

/ágɨ̀m/	[ʔágɨ̀m]	'arrow wasp'
/syɨ́/	[šɨ́]	'breath'
/thɨ̀ɨyɨ̀/	[t^{h}ɨ̀ʔuyɨ̀]	'soldier ant'
/pɨ́rò/	[pɨ́rò]	'nightingale'

(4) /a/ - [a] : Low central rounded short vowel.

/pápù/	[pápù]	'mushroom'

/klà/	[klà]	'crow'
/tawà/	[tawà]	'honey bee'
/taplaṅ/	[taplaṅ]	'Cedrela toona'
/pábgrà/	[pábgrà]	'spider'

(5) /u/ - [u] : High back rounded short vowel.

/búrwayã̀/	[búrʷayã̀]	'lizard'
/udyú/	[ʔudʸú]	'peafowl'
/dulá/	[dulÁ́]	'terrapin'
/phu/	[pʰu]	'owl'

(6) /o/ - [o] : Mid back rounded short vowel.

/tyo/	[tʸo]	'tawny frogmouth'
/dólàg/	[dólàk']	'crane'
/khrónè/	[kʰrónè]	'cricket'
/paró/	[paró]	'pigeon'

(7) /ẽ/ - [ẽ] : Higher-mid front unrounded nasalized vowel.

/syẽ/	[sẽ]	'woodpecker'
/lẽyà/	[lẽyà]	'to shine'
/wɨ́ygẽ́/	[wɨ́ygẽ́]	'whirlpool'

(8) /ã/ - [ã] : Higher-low central rounded nasalized vowel.

/álã/	[ʔálã]	'tusk'
/júwã̀/	[júwã̀]	'cold'
/phlã́prò/	[pʰlã́prò]	'pebble'

(9) /õ/ - [õ] : Higher-mid back rounded nasalized vowel.

/hrõ/	[hrõ]	'back'

/málŏ̀/	[málŏ̀]	'breadfruit'
/chŏdàṅ/	[c^{h}ŏdàṅ]	'planet'
/árŏ̀/	[ʔárŏ̀]	'moth'

1.4.3. Consonants:

The allophonic variants of consonants fall under four heads. The first three are the variants and the norms are listed under the fourth. The environment is specified for the variants. The norms occur in all environments other than those in which their variants occur.

1.4.3.1. Devoicing and Non-release:

These two features go together. The order of the rules is (i) the voiced stops are devoiced before a pause and (ii) the stops are unreleased before a pause. This, in affect, gives rise to what is known as *'Neutralization'*. That is, before a pause, both voiced stops and voiceless stops share the same allophone, viz., the voiceless unreleased stop. What it means is that the apposition 'voiced Vs. voiceless' is neutralized before a pause.

/dyáp/	[d^{y}áp']	'greengram'
/mábáp/	[mábÁp']	'fox'
/kàb/	[kàp']	'bulbul'
/taráb/	[tarÁp']	'creeper'
/macáb/	[macÁp']	'cow'
/tabáb/	[tabÁp']	'snake'

/glebáb/	[glebÁp']	'duck'
/dáyk/	[dáyk']	'language'
/paréyk/	[paréyk']	'frog'
/sàg/	[sàk']	'nest'
/hagràyg/	[hagràyk']	'flying-squirrel'
/kwág/	[kwák']	'dog'
/kacyìg/	[kačìk']	'rat'

1.4.3.2. Labialization:

The bilabial stops are labialized* before the vowels /e/ and /ẽ/.

/pé/	[pʷé]	'winnowing pan'
/tapẽ́/	[tapʷẽ́]	'meal'
/hábè/	[hábʷè]	'cripple'
/bélâ/	[bʷélâ.]	'metal plate'

1.4.3.3. Lengthening:

The velar nasal is lengthened when it occurs as the coda of a syllable carrying a rising-falling tone. Here the length is in complementation with the vowel length, i.e., the nasal is lengthened only when the vowel remains short. It is not predictable, since there is only one example in the language for this variant. However, the complementation can be illustrated by an example.

---

*Ladefoged speaks of labialized bilabial consonants in his *Preliminaries to Linguistics Phonetics* "Labial consonants, just like other consonants, can have added lip-rounding which may be contrastive" (p.65).

/nâṅ/	[nâṅ.]	'smell'
/kɨnyâṅ/	[küňâ.ṅ]	'nine'

1.4.3.4. Norms:

(1) /p/ - [p] : Voiceless bilabial released stop.

/pápù/	[pápù]	'mushroom'
/prà/	[prà]	'good'
/nyápò/	[ňápò]	'sesame'
/kapìṅ/	[kapìṅ]	'bat'

(2) /t/ - [t] : Voiceless apicodental stop.

/tɨ́m/	[tɨ́m]	'sky'
/taṅ/	[taṅ]	'swallow'
/atí/	[ʔatí]	'hail'
/meẽtô/	[meʔẽtô.]	'bud'

(3) /k/ - [k] : Voiceless dorsovelar released stop.

/ko/	[ko]	'skin'
/kapé/	[kap^{w}é]	'leech'
/tɨ́kã̀/	[tɨ́kã̀]	'grasshopper'
/kwág/	[kwák']	'dog'
/tákwìṅ/	[tákwìṅ]	'mushroom'

(4) /b/ - [b] : Voiced bilabial released stop.

/bìṅ/	[bìṅ]	'future'
/bú/	[bú]	'pus'
/habá/	[habÁ]	'bedbug'
/lɨ́bõ/	[lɨ́bõ]	'driftwood'
/khámbà/	[k^{h}ámbà]	'squirrel'

(5) /d/ - [d] : Voiced apicodental stop.

/dó/	[dó]	'cough'
/dulá/	[dulÁ]	'terrapin'
/dáyk/	[dáyk']	'language'
/adî/	[ʔadî.]	'story'
/t̆adáb/	[tadÁp']	'falcon'
/diya/	[diya]	'a game trap'

(6) /g/ - [g] : Voiced dorsovelar released stop.

/gî/	[gî.]	'yam'
/gɨ́ràb/	[gɨ́ràp']	'donkey'
/mágìṅ/	[mágìṅ]	'cucumber'
/hagràyg/	[hagràyk']	'flying-squirrel'

(7) /c/ - [c] : Voiceless apicodental affricate.

/cábã/	[cábã]	'clam'
/chág/	[c^{h}ák']	'louse'
/macáb/	[macÁp']	'cow'
/kàcígtyàṅ/	[kàcígt^{y}àṅ]	'scorpion'

(8) /j/ - [j] : Voiced apicodental affricate.

/júwã̀/	[júwã̀]	'cold'
/táji/	[táji]	'height'
/kɨjõ/	[küjõ]	'hornbill'
/hájẽ/	[hájẽ]	'wall'

(9) /m/ - [m] : Bilabial nasal.

/míyà/	[míyà]	'wife'
/mówà/	[mówà]	'husband'

/macyù/	[mačù]	'antelope'
/kámé/	[kámé]	'flying-cat'
/tamá/	[tamÁ]	'medicine'
/kámù/	[kámù]	'brother-in-law'
/mlâ/	[mlâ.]	'village'
/màmbi/	[màmbi]	'goat'
/tɨ́m/	[tɨ́m]	'sky'
/búm/	[búm]	'a game trap'

(10) /n/ - [n] : Apicolaveolar nasal.

/namɨ̀ṅ/	[namɨ̀ṅ]	'fire'
/nosà/	[nosà]	'picture'
/pɨné/	[püné]	'trunk'
/kanù/	[kanù]	'darkness'
/táníṅ/	[táníṅ]	'crocodile'
/níṅ/	[níṅ]	'we'

(11) /ṅ/ - [ṅ] : Dorsovelar short nasal.

/ṅàrè/	[ṅàrè]	'sin'
/taṅ/	[taṅ]	'swallow'
/táṅa/	[táṅa]	'fish'
/ríṅ/	[ríṅ]	'sun'
/árwiṅkà/	[ʔár^{w}iṅkà]	'termite'

(12) /s/ - [s] : Voiceless apicoalveolar fricative.

/sõ/	[sõ]	'fiber'
/sɨ̀mbé/	[sɨ̀mb^{w}é]	'ear ring'
/ségrà/	[ségrà]	'comb'
/súwà/	[súwà]	'cap'

/nosà/	[nosà]	'picture'
/tasíṅ/	[tasíṅ]	'porcupine'

(13) /h/ - [h] : Voiceless glottal fricative.

/háló/	[háló]	'moon'
/hɨ́ràṅ/	[hɨ́ràṅ]	'wind'
/paháṅ/	[pahÁṅ]	'neck'
/tahuyk/	[tahuyk']	'rainbow'
/húlù/	[húlù]	'baboon'
/kalhèyk/	[kalhèyk']	'intestines'

(14) /z/ - [z] : Voiced apicoalveolar fricative.

/záp/	[záp']	'red'
/zóyà/	[zóyà]	'to embroider'
/tazi/	[tazi]	'breast'
/sápɨ̀mzé/	[sápɨ̀mzé]	'buttock'

(15) /1/ - [1] : Apicoalveolar lateral.

/lɨ́ka/	[lɨ́ka]	'Michelia champaka'
/làṅkhawɨ́m/	[làṅk^{h}awɨ́m]	'a proper name'
/háló/	[háló]	'moon'
/gílû/	[gílû.]	'soy-bean'
/tɨlâṅ/	[tülâ.ṅ]	'barley'
/málŏ̀/	[málŏ̀]	'breadfruit'
/lɨkŏ̀talẽ/	[lükŏ̀talẽ]	'hooded wagtail'

(16) /r/ - [r] : Apicopalatal trill.

/ráṅ/	[ráṅ]	'cliff'
/ríṅ/	[ríṅ]	'sun'
/bóra/	[bóra]	'thunder'

/hárèyk/	[hárèyk']	'Ficus bengalensis'
/pɨ́rò/	[pɨ́rò]	'nightingale'
/karŏ̀/	[karŏ̀]	'osprey'

(17) /w/ - [w] : Bilabial approximant.

/wàyṅ/	[wàyṅ]	'bowl'
/wɨ́ygĕ́/	[wɨ́ygĕ́]	'whirlpool'
/gwág/	[gwák']	'priest'
/táwâré/	[táwâ.ré]	'wasp'

(18) /y/ - [y] : Palatal approximant.

/yû/	[yû.]	'ricebeer'
/yuwà/	[yuwà]	'son'
/yɨke/	[yüke]	'a clan name'
/tayú/	[tayú]	'gnat'
/háya/	[háya]	'yellow wasp'
/thíya/	[t^{h}íya]	'black partridge'
/kháyìṅ/	[k^{h}áyìṅ]	'rodent'

1.4.4. Clusters:

1.4.4.1. Aspiration:

The clusters of voiceless stops and voiceless affricate with /h/ are realized phonetically as aspirated stops or an aspirated affricate.

(1) /ph/ - [p^h] : Aspirated voiceless bilabial stop.

/aphɨm/	[ʔap^{h}üm]	'reed'
/phu/	[p^{h}u]	'elf-owl'
/taphìṅ/	[tap^{h}ìṅ]	'sheep'

(2) /th/ - [t^h] : Aspirated voiceless apicodental stop.

/thà/	[t^hà]	'mocking bird'
/thó/	[t^hó]	'lesser hornbill'
/tapóthɨlìg/	[tapót^{h}ülìk']	''humming bird'
/thɨ̀ɨyɨ̀/	[thɨ̀ʔüyɨ̀]	'soldier ant'

(3) /kh/ - [k^h] : Aspirated voiceless dorsovelar stop.

/khámbà/	[k^hámbà]	'giant red squirrel'
/khíṅ/	[k^híṅ]	'one'
/pɨgrikhɨlayk/	[pügrik^{h}ülayk']	'pigmy kingfisher'

(4) /ch/ - [c^h]: Aspirated voiceless apicodental affricate.

/ché/	[c^hé]	'chaffinch'
/chấgẽ́yã/	[c^hấgẽ́yã]	'red-whiskered bulbul'
/chù/	[c^hù]	'pine'

1.4.4.2. Palatalization:

The clusters of the apicodental stop and the lateral with /y/ are realized as their palatalized counterparts and the clusters of the affricates, the voiceless fricative and the apicoalveolar nasal with /y/ are realized as their palatal counterparts.

(1) /ty/ - [t^y] : Palatalized voiceless apicodental stop.

/atyáṅrá/	[ʔat^{y}ÁṅrÁ]	'crab'
/tyú/	[t^yú]	'fowl'

/tyɨ́ga/	[t^{y}ɨ́ga]	'pincer'
/tyo/	[t^{y}o]	'tawny frogmouth'

(2) /dy/ - [d^{y}] : Palatalized voiced apicodental stop.

/tadyá/	[tad^{y}Á]	'grey squirrel'
/udyú/	[ʔud^{y}ú]	'peafowl'
/kàdyù/	[kàd^{y}ù]	'corner'

(3) /cy/ - [č] : Voiceless frontopalatal affricate.

/macyù/	[maču̇]	'antelope'
/arwácyá/	[ʔar^{w}ÁčÁ]	'firefly'
/cyáygcìṅ/	[čáygcìṅ]	'pied wagtail'

(4) /chy/ - [č^{h}] : Aspirated voiceless frontopalatal affricate.

/chyíg/	[č^{h}ík']	'to walk'
/pɨchyõ/	[püč^{h}ŏ]	'beans'

(5) /jy/ - [ǰ] : Voiced frontopalatal affricate.

/tajyí/	[taǰí]	'earthworm'
/majyáràyk/	[maǰÁràyk']	'cat'
/majyíg/	[maǰík']	'mynah'

(6) /ny/ - [ň] : Frontopalatal nasal.

/tanye/	[taňe]	'lesser red squirrel'
/khanyáṅ/	[k^{h}aňÁṅ]	'rodent'
/nyú/	[ňú]	'you'

(7) /ly/ - [l^{y}] : Palatalized apicoalveolar lateral.

/gilyõ/	[gil^{y}ŏ]	'dragonfly'

/malyṍ/	[malʸṍ]	'rhinoceros'
/tályàb/	[tálʸàp']	'fly'

(8) /sy/ - [š] : Voiceless frontopalatal fricative.

/asyá/	[ʔašÁ]	'bison'
/syẽ/	[šẽ]	'spotted woodpecker'
/tyusyà/	[tʸušà]	'pheasant'

1.4.4.3. Labialization:

The cluster of the trill and the bilabial approximant is realized as a labialized trill.

/rw/ - [rʷ] : Labialized apicopalatal trill.

/arwéyg/	[ʔarʷéyk']	'snow'
/rwíbõ̀/	[rʷíbõ̀]	'bone'
/garwi/	[garʷi]	'horse'
/arwácyá/	[ʔarʷÁčÁ]	'firefly'

1.5. Distribution

The distribution of phonemes covers their occurrence in isolation, in clusters and in syllables. The distribution is discussed within a word; occsionally, for ease of description, we have described it in smaller units like a morpheme.

1.5.1. Distribution of Single Phonemes:

1.5.1.1. Tones:

Apart from the comparatively rare occurrence of the rising-falling tone, the tones display no special distributional features.

1.5.1.2. Vowels:

(i) Vowels occur freely in all positions.

(ii) The mid vowels do not occur in syllables ending in a nasal.

1.5.1.3. Consonants:

(i) The bilabial and velar stops and nasals occur freely in all positions. None of the other consonants occur before a pause. /1/ has been observed to occur in final position in borrowed words.

(ii) The feature apposition voice and voicelessness is neutralized before a pause (Ref. 1.4.3.1.). Here the voiced and voiceless stops share the same allophone, i.e., the voiceless unreleased variety (Phonological conditioning is given in 1.4.3.1.).

/kwág/	[kwák']	'dog'
/kwágwèlàṅ/	[kwágwèlàṅ]	'dogs'
/kàb/	[kàp']	'bulbul'
/kàbwèlàṅ/	[kàbwèlàṅ]	'bulbuls'
/pápàp/	[pápàp']	'moŋk'
/pápàpluwà/	[pápàpluwà]	'theist'
/khlèyk/	[k^{h}lèyk']	'earth'
/khlèykbùmtapɨ̀m/	[k^{h}lèykbùmtapɨ̀m]	'beetle'
/hádig/	[hádik']	'cobra'
/hádigcà̃/	[hádigcà̃]	'centipede'

1.5.2. Distribution of Clusters:

For the distribution, clusters that occur in a monomorphemic word as well as clusters that occur across morphemic boundaries in polymorphemic and compound words are considered. Under the second type, all word initial clusters occur word medially.

1.5.2.1. Vowel Clusters:

The occurrence of vowel clusters is rare and does not follow any apparent pattern. The vowel clusters do not occur in word-initial positions. The following clusters have been observed.

/meẽtô/	'bud'
/miẽ/	'tender'
/hɨuwa/	'sweat'
/katṍagrâyg/	'lizard'
/táɨ̀m/	'ashgourd'
/thɨ̀ɨyɨ̀/	'soldier ant'
/píyaà/	'robin'
/píyaõ/	'blacknest swiftlet'
/tháà/	'(he) eats'
/táphraà/	'rivulet'

1.5.2.2. Consonant Clusters:

(i) Geminated consonants are not permitted in the language. If, however, homorganic consonants occur across morphemic boundaries, a morphophonemic rule deletes one of the consonants (Rule-1).

/tapìgblɨ̀mlâ/	'desert'

/tapìg + blɨ̀m + mlâ/
sand place village

(ii) Clusters other than geminated consonants occur in all positions. The maximum number of consonants in a cluster is five.

1.5.2.2.1. Biconsonantal Clusters:

These occur in initial, medial as well as final positions.

1.5.2.2.1.1. Initial Clusters – C_1C_2:

(i) Only /y/, /r/, /l/, /h/ and /w/ can occur in the C_2 position in the cluster.

(ii) /y/ forms clusters with all consonants except /ṅ/, /h/, /z/, /r/ and /w/.

py-	/pyúlù/	'butterfly'
ty-	/tyusyà/	'pheasant'
ky-	/kyɨ/	'right (as opposed to left)'
by-	/byõ/	'straight'
dy-	/dyú/	'crutch'
gy-	/gyù/	'butter'
cy-	/cyig/	'snowy owl'
jy-	/jyím/	'truth'
my-	/myim/	'brothers'
ny-	/nyápò/	'sesame'

sy-	/syí/	'claw'
ly-	/lyúwã̀/	'high tide'

(iii) /r/ forms clusters with stops and /h/.

pr-	/prà/	'virtue'
tr-	/tràp/	'a mythical tree'
kr-	/krùnà/	'ear'
br-	/brà/	'button'
dr-	/draṅ/	'big'
gr-	/grṍ/	'foot'
hr-	/hró/	'deer-bark'

(iv) /l/ forms clusters with bilabial and velar stops and bilabial nasal.

pl-	/pla/	'salt'
bl-	/blɨ̀m/	'place'
kl-	/klap/	'drop'
gl-	/glebáb/	'duck'
ml-	/mlâ/	'village'

(v) /h/ forms clusters with voiceless stops and affricate.

ph-	/phu/	'elf-owl'
th-	/thà/	'mocking bird'
kh-	/kháyìṅ/	'rodent'
ch-	/chã́gẽ́yã/	'red-whiskered bulbul'

(vi) /w/ forms clusters with velar stops, /h/, /r/ and /y/.

kw-	/kwã̀/	'tawny owl'
gw-	/gwág/	'priest'

hw-	/hwɨ́g/	'bamboo'
rw-	/rwíbȍ/	'bone'
yw-	/khɨ́ywá/	'dim'

1.5.2.2.1.2. Medial Clusters:

(i) With /y/ all consonants except /h/, /z/ and /r/ form clusters. Note that the gaps in the distribution of initial clusters are filled here.

-by-	/abyã/	'slope'
-ty-	/hàtyó/	'hand'
-dy-	/tadyá/	'grey squirrel'
-ky-	/akyu/	'piety'
-gy-	/págyà/	'to sweep'
-cy-	/kacyìg/	'rat'
-jy-	/hajyá/	'tribal chief'
-my-	/tàmyim/	'monkey'
-ny-	/khanyáṅ/	'rodent'
-ṅy-	/paṅyà/	'to complete'
-sy-	/kasyõsyî/	'rodent'
-ly-	/malyṍ/	'rhinoceros'
-wy-	/piwyà/	'to bloom'

(ii) With /r/, the cluster formation includes the nasals*.

-pr-	/taprɨ̀/	'wild dog'
-tr-	/mitrî/	'smithy'
-kr-	/ányakrã̀/	'nose ring'

---

*/n/ does not occur before a morpheme boundary.

-br-	/tàbré/	'beef'
-dr-	/píyadràg/	'sparrow'
-gr-	/pɨgrî/	'golden-fronted leaf-bird'
-mr-	/âtamró/	'friendship'
-ṅr-	/atyáṅrá/	'crab'
-hr-	/tanâhrɨ̀/	'pickle'

(iii) With /l/, the clusters include /h/ and /ṅ/.

-pl-	/pápàpluwà/	'theist'
-kl-	/haklâ/	'adultery'
-bl-	/sáblì/	'anus'
-gl-	/taglɨg/	'luggage'
-ml-	/khɨ́nimlá/	'festival'
-ṅl	/bóṅlì/	'beam'
-hl-	/kahlèyk/	'intestines'

(iv) The clusters with /h/.

-ph-	/aphɨm/	'reed'
-th-	/tathé/	'turnstone'
-kh-	/tákhàṅ/	'pillow'
-ch-	/tabróchò/	'hunter'

(v) The cluster with /w/ include the bilabials and the velar nasal.

-pw-	/pápàpwèlàṅ/	'monks'
-kw-	/tákwìṅ/	'mushroom'
-bw-	/jyímbabwè/	'God of Accidents'
-gw-	/kwágwèlàṅ/	'dogs'

-mw-	/tàmyimwèlàṅ/	'monkeys'
-ṅy-	/níṅwè/	'we (subjective)'
-hw-	/pɨlûhwã̀/	'common starling'
-rw-	/tɨ́rwi/	'swamp'

(vi) Clusters with a nasal as C_1 and a stop, fricative or affricate as C_2.

-mp-	/nɨ̀mpalaṅ/	'ocean'
-mt-	/pɨ́mtò/	'papaya'
-mk-	/hmezimko/	'measles'
-mb-	/khámbà/	'giant red squirrel'
-mg-	/háramga/	'assembly'
-ms-	/gomsá/	'handkerchief'
-mz-	/sápɨ̀mzé/	'buttock'
-ṅp-	/khlàṅpà/	'shoulder'
-ṅt-	/thàṅtɨ́wi/	'pigtail'
-ṅk-	/láṅkap/	'plain'
-ṅd-	/áṅdɨwã́/	'yard'
-ṅg-	/áṅgõ/	'at home'
-ṅs-	/tyaṅsíṅ/	'ring'
-ṅz-	/tìṅzé/	'banian'

(vii) Clusters with /y/ as C_1.

-yg-	/thàyga/	'hot'
-yn-	/wàyṅà/	'small bowl'

(viii) Clusters which do not fall under any apparent pattern.

(a) Stop + Stop

-bt-	/tadábtalẽ/	'hawk'

-gp-	/krɨgpe/	'ear ring'
-gt-	/tacagtako/	'straw'

(b) Stop + Affricate

-gj-	/athɨgjó/	'a weaving design'

(c) Stop + Nasal

-bm-	/jyábmalù/	'Creator'

(d) Voiced Stop + Fricative

-bs-	/káràbsò/	'wrinkle'

(e) Nasal + Nasal

-ṅn-	/khájyaṅna/	'fee'
-mn-	/áhɨ̀mnà/	'a type of greens'

1.5.2.2.1.3. Final Clusters:

-yk	/dáyk/	'language'
-yg	/hagràyg/	'squirrel'
-yṅ	/wàyṅ/	'bowl'

Biconsonantal cluster matrix is on the next page.

1.5.2.2.2. Triconsonantal Clusters - $C_1C_2C_3$:

These occur in initial and medial positions.

(i) Initially the cluster is always of the type -

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{Voiceless stop}\\ \text{Voiceless affricate}\end{bmatrix} + h + \begin{bmatrix}l\\ r\\ y\end{bmatrix}$$

phl-	/phlá/	'stone'
thr-	/thrî/	'Indian skimmer'

BICONSONANTAL CLUSTERS - MATRIX

C_1 C_2:	p	t	k	b	d	g	c	j	m	n	ṅ	s	h	z	l	r	w	y
p													IM		IM	IM	M	I
t													IM			IM		IM
k													IM		IM	IM	IM	IM
b		M													IM	IM	M	IM
d									M			M				IM		IM
g	M	M						M							IM	IM	IM	IM
c													IM					IM
j																		IM
m	M	M	M	M		M				M		M		M	IM	M	M	IM
n																		IM
ṅ	M	M	M		M	M	M			M		M		M	M	M	M	M
s																		IM
h									M						M		IM	
z																		
l							M											IM
r										M							IM	
w																		M
y			F			MF					MF						M	

I = Initial; M = Medial; F = Final

khl-	/khlédɨ̀/	'saliva'
khr-	/khrô/	'weeping'
chy-	/chyáb/	'race'

(ii) Medial clusters follow the conditions that either C_1C_2 or C_2C_3 or $C_1C_2C_3$ must be capable of occurring as an initial cluster independently.

(a) $C_1C_2C_3$ Type

-phl-	/máphlã̀/	'forehead'
-phr-	/táphra/	'river'
-phy-	/taphyó/	'bow'
-khl-	/thákhlà/	'glass'
-khr-	/tákhrõ/	'stalk (bot)'
-khy-	/lɨkhyɨ̂/	'Bescofia javanica'
-chy-	/pɨchyõ/	'beans'

(b) C_1C_2-C_3 Type

-ykt-	/khlèyktakàṅ/	'clay'
-ykb-	/khlèykbɨm/	'beetle'
-yke-	/daykcikdaṅda/	'God of death'
-ygt-	/macéygtákù/	'wave'
-ygb-	/taygbrà/	'hair needles'
-ygc-	/cyáygcìṅ/	'pied wagtail'
-yṅr-	/wàyṅrà/	'bowl'

(c) C_1-C_2C_3 Type

-pth-	/laptha/	'interest'
-bgr-	/pábgrà/	'spider'
-gty-	/kàcígtyàṅ/	'scorpion'

-gkr-	/acigkru/	'scab'
-ṅpl-	/ríṅplaṅ/	'shade'
-mbl-	/mamble/	'peas'
-ṅkl-	/kádiṅkléyk/	'shooting star'
-gbl-	/tapìgblɨ̀mlâ/	'desert'
-ṅkw-	/ríṅkwág/	'rabbit'
-gsy-	/dɨ̀gsyâko/	'cinnamun'
-bkr-	/macábkrù/	'cow'
-msy-	/namsyaṅ/	'epidemic worship'

1.5.2.2.3. Tetraconsonantal Clusters:

These occurs only medially. There are three patterns.

(i) C_1C_2-C_3C_4 type where C_1C_2 can form an independent final cluster and C_3C_4 an initial one.

-ygbr-	/thréygbréyg/	'mongoose'
-ygbl-	/macéygbláṅà/	'flood'
-yṅdr-	/amèyṅdraṅ/	'cyclone'

(ii) C_1-$C_2C_3C_4$ type where $C_2C_3C_4$ should be a potential initial cluster.

-ṅkhr-	/námɨṅkhrè/	'matchstick'
-ṅphy-	/masáṅphyàm/	'a game (bamboo cutting)'

(iii) Homorganic nasal + Consonant cluster.

-nyjy-	/nányjyə̀/	'common striped squirrel'

1.5.2.2.4. Pentaconsonantal Cluster:

Occurs medially and only one has been

observed. The cluster is of $C_1C_2-C_3C_4C_5$ type.

-ygphl- /macéygphlù/ 'tap'

1.6. Syllable

1.6.1. Structure of the Syllable:

A syllable consists of a vocalic nucleus and attached consonants and carries an obligatory tone. Letting N stand for the nucleus, C_1 for the consonant or consonant cluster preceding it and C_2 for the consonant or consonant cluster following it, the structure of the syllable can be symbolized as $\pm C_1 + N \pm C_2$. C_1 is called the onset of the syllable and C_2 the coda. In the absence of C_2, the syllable is termed an open syllable,

Ex: /tyo/ 'tawny frogmouth'

and in the presence of C_2, it is termed a closed syllable.

Ex: /níṅ/ 'we'

The tone does not play any significant role in determining the syllabic structure.

1.6.2. Syllabic Boundary (Marked with a raised wedge):

The determination of syllabic boundary depends on two factors.

(1) In the case of monosyllabic morphemes the syllabic boundary coincides with the morpheme boundary

Ex: /kwágˇwèlàṅ/ 'dogs'

/tyu^{v}hme/ 'falcon'

except when the consonants across the morpheme boundary are phonetically realized as a unique phone. In this case the syllable boundary is moved a place to the left.

Ex: /khlèy^{v}kháwù/ 'dust'

(2) Within a polysyllabic morpheme the boundary is determined by the nature of the syllable.

(a) The boundary always precedes a stop + sonorant cluster or sonorant + sonorant which is an initial occurring type.

Ex: /co^{v}pra/ 'statue'

(b) In all other cases, when two consonants occur across the syllabic boundary, the boundary is marked between them.

Ex: /thréyg^{v}bréyg/ 'mongoose'

/màm^{v}bi/ 'goat'

/gom^{v}sá/ 'handkerchief'

/pɨ́m^{v}tò/ 'papaya'

(c) If a triconsonantal cluster occurs at the boundary, the marking of the boundary is governed by the nature of the cluster formation.

(i) In C_1-C_2C_3 type clusters, the boundary is marked after C_1.

Ex: /lap^{v}tha/ 'interest'

/páb^{v}grà/ 'spider'

(ii) In C_1C_2-C_3 type, the boundary is marked before C_3.

Ex: /cyáyg^{v}cìn/ 'pied wagtail'

(iii) If $C_1C_2C_3$ of the initial occurring type, the boundary falls before C_1.

Ex: /tá^{v}phra/ 'river'

(iv) In the case of ambiguous cluster, i.e., those which may either belong to C_1-C_2C_3, or to C_1C_2-C_3 type, the syllabic boundary falls after C_1.

Ex: /mam^{v}ble/ 'peas'

/rín^{v}kwág/ 'rabbit'

1.6.3. Syllable Types:

Mishmi syllables fall under four types: the classification takes into account, the structure and the demarcation of the boundary.

(1) Nucleus type (V): These syllables consist of a asimple vowel.

/í/	'to be'
/é/	'this'
/ó/	'to shoot'
/ɨ̇^{v}rã/	'woodpecker'

(2) Onset-Nucleus type C_1N: The composition of C_1 subclassifies these into three groups.

(a) CV	/gû/	'ash'
	/du^{v}lá/	'terrapin'
(b) CCV	/kwã̀/	'tawny owl'
	/ta^{v}thẽ́/	'turnstone'
	/tà^{v}myim/	'monkey'

(c)	CCCV	/thrî/	'Indian skimmer'
		/lɨkhyɨ̂/	'Bescofia javanica'

(3) Nucleus-Coda type NC_2: Composition of C_2 gives two subtypes.

(a)	VC	/áṅ/	'house'
		/táˇɨ̀m/	'ash-gourd'
(b)	VCC	/àym/	'is not'

(4) Onset-Nucleus-Coda type C_1NC_2: Six subtypes are possible taking into account the complexity of C_1 and C_2.

(a)	CVC	/taṅ/	'swallow'
		/áˇgɨ̀m/	'arrow-wasp'
(b)	CCVC	/kwág/	'dog'
		/kaˇthíṅ/	'ant'
(c)	CCCVC	/khrámˇblé/	'a clan name'
(d)	CCCVCC	/thréygˇbréyg/	'mongoose'
(e)	CCVCC	/cyáygˇcìṅ/	'pied wagtail'
		/tháyg/	'poison'
(f)	CVCC	/dáyk/	'language'
		/nányˇjyȍ/	'squirrel'

- - - -

MORPHOLOGY

2.0. General Remarks

2.0.1. Word:

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. A simple word in Mishmi is a minimally meaningful free form which when segmented will have no more than one free form.

(i) /míyà/ 'wife' which is an unsegmented free form.

(ii) /míyàwèlàṅ/ 'wives' which when segmented gives one free form /míyà/ and one bound form /-wèlàṅ/.

By definition both (i) and (ii) constitute words whereas /-wèlàṅ/ does not by itself constitute a word and is called a suffix.

From a morphological point of view, a Mishmi word must contain at least one stem. A stem is a minimally meaningful free form which is capable of taking one or more inflexional suffixes. And hence stems of varying degrees of complexity are possible (Ref. Inner Structure of Noun and Verb). While most stems can occur overtly unmodified as free forms and therefore function as words, by far the largest number of words consist of a stem with a number of morphological processes (Ref. 2.0.3).

2.0.2. Form Classes:

The stems of a language can be classified on the basis of their inflexional and functional behaviour. The classes of stems showing identical inflexional and functional behaviour are called 'form classes'. The classification can also be interpreted as a classification of words, since, by definition, a word must contain at least one stem.

Mishmi shows a tripartite system based on the type of inflexion the stems can take.

--Stems which can be inflected for case are NOUNS.

--Stems which can be inflected for tense, aspect and mood are VERBS.

--Stems which remain uninflected are INDECLINABLES.

Further subclassification is possible on the basis of additional criteria.

Nouns contain a subclass of pronouns. The distinction is based on two factors.

(i) Pronouns are substituted for nouns.

(ii) Pronouns are differentiated for person while nouns are always in the third person.

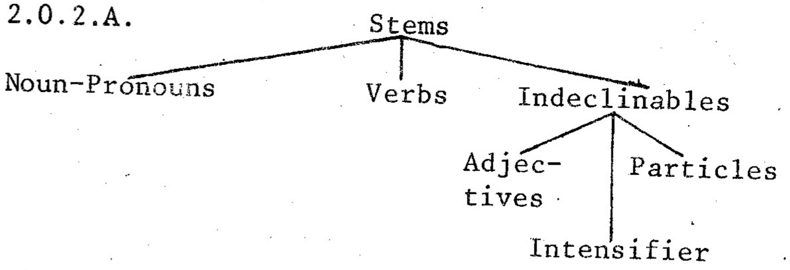
Indeclinables fall into three classes.

--Adjectives: Stems that modify nouns.

--Intensifiers: Stems that modify adjectives.

--Particles: Stems that occur virtually independently in a sentence and whose functions are other than modification.

2.0.2.A.



Though adverbs do not form a class by themselves since there are no primary adverbial stems, it is necessary to recognize them as a functional subclass of indeclinables which modify verbs.

Mishmi stems possess what can be termed as multiple class membership, i.e., the same stem may belong to more than one class based on its functional behaviour.

(i) Stems that functionally belong to noun, verb and adjective classes without any stem modification.

/prà/	'good/goodness/to be good'
/ma̖ci/	'jealous/jealousy/ to be jealous'
/madɤ̀/	'respectful/respect/to be respectful'
/kánám/	'reasonable/reason/to be reasonable'

(ii) Stems that functionally belong to noun and verb classes without any stem modification.

/kàm/	'prayer/to pray'

(iii) Stems that functionally belong to adjective and verb classes without any stem modification.

/syî/	'fair/to be fair'
/lyô/	'white/to be white'

(iv) Stems that functionally belong to noun and adjective classes without any stem modification.

/masyá/	'secretive/secret/secrecy'

2.0.3. Morphological Processes:

A general characterization of morphology needs a brief survey of the various types of morphological processes encountered.

Suffixation:

It is the process of adding a bound morpheme after a stem and is by far the most common and productive of all morphological processes. It applies at all levels of structural layering.

Prefixation:

It is the process of adding a bound morpheme before a stem and is the least common of all morphological processes.

Reduplication:

It is the process of repeating a stem either completely or partially to modify the meaning of the stem. Though reduplicated forms are not very common, the process is productive to a limited extent. Reduplication affects only stems. The forms which undergo reduplication are either adjectives, adverbs, nouns or particles.

Compounding:

Compounding here is defined as the process of word formation which joins into a single word more than one stem. The process is fairly productive and accounts for a large number of nouns and verbs.

Syncretism:

It is the process of coalescence of two or more grammatical categories to give rise to a single individual morpheme. A good illustration is the paradigm of the existential verb: /i-/ 'to be'.

/íyà/	'is (hum)'
/à/	'is (non-human) to be analyzed as [í + tense/gender].

Unmarked Forms:

A limited number of instances raise the question of the possible identification of a 'zero process', i.e., a process not overtly marked. Examples are abundant in the derivation of nouns and verbs from adjectives (Ref. 2.1.3.1.2.2.3 and 2.5.3.1.2) alternately explained as multiple class membership

(Ref. 2.0.1). Since unmarked forms are often ambiguous, the recognition of zero morphs is avoided as much as possible.

Suppletion:

When a morpheme has different phonetic realizations, 'allomorphs' in different environments, it is suppletion. A few cases of suppletion are found in tense suffixes of verbs.

> Future tense has three allomorphs: /ne/, /yà/ and /bìn/ in different environments.

When morphemes undergo these morphological processes, they may also undergo phonetic changes. Such morphophonemic changes are very few and rare. They are dealt with individually while describing the morphemes that undergo the changes in the appropriate sections.

2.1. Noun

2.1.1. Nature of Nouns:

A noun in Mishmi is defined as a member of an open set of words which can be inflected for case as already mentioned. Nouns form by far the largest class in the Mishmi language. Nouns can occur as predicates in a Mishmi sentence. Nouns include terms referring to flora and fauna; to parts of the bodies of human and of other animals; parts of trees, and so on; to mineral and environmental phenomena ('earth', 'water', 'silver', etc.); to geographical formations ('forest', 'mountain', 'plain' and so on); and celestial bodies ('sun', 'moon'); to noises ('roar', 'whistle'), song styles and language; to artefacts ('baskets', 'game traps') and institutionalized parts of the environment ('village', 'hut', 'track'); to age and sex groups ('boy', 'girl', 'man'); to kinship relations ('husband', 'father'); to particular places, spirits and people (proper names); to pronouns ('I', 'you'); to time qualifiers ('yesterday', 'year', 'before') and place qualifiers (parts of compass, abstract concepts of location like across, near, in front of and so on). Other abstract concepts are expressed primarily through verbs and adjectives which can yield derived nouns.

2.1.2. Classification of Nouns:

Common nouns are classified into mass nouns and count nouns based on their ability of taking number-inflexion.

2.1.2.1. Mass Nouns:

They cannot be inflected for number. They are always in singular.

/kékàp/	'paddy'
/macéyk/	'water'
/kara/	'rain'
/tapìg/	'sand'

2.1.2.2. Count Nouns:

They can be inflected for number by adding either the plural suffix or a quantifier or a numeral.

/áṅwẹ̀làṅ/	'houses'
/áṅdõmáṅa/	'five houses'

Nouns, when they are modified by a numeral cannot do so directly. A morpheme always occurs before the numeral. This morpheme is called a classifier and is defined here as any morpheme that groups the nouns into various classes on the basis of the semantic specifications of the noun. It is suffixed to the noun immediately before the numeral. Combining the classifier with the numeral rather than the noun is motivated by two observations. One is that nothing else can be interposed between the classifier and the numeral. The second is that the noun can take other modifiers or a gender suffix which will occur before the classifier. That is, the classifier can be suffixed to noun phrases as well as nouns.

/áṅ-dõ-máṅa/[1] house-cl-five	'five houses'

---

[1] The hyphen used often in this and the following sections is only to facilitate the identification of the various constituent morphemes. It has no phonological, structural or functional significance whatsoever.

/áṅ-draṅ-dõ-máṅa/ 'five big houses'
house-big-cl-five

/bɨ́lìg-tyaṅ-hálaṅ/ 'ten pigs'
pig-cl-ten

/bɨ́lìg-tapi-tyaṅ-hálaṅ/ 'ten sows'
pig-fem-cl-ten

The choice of the classifier is based on two semantic characteristics of the noun, viz., (1) animateness and (2) shape and size and gives rise to a nine-fold classification of the nouns.

(1) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are small and spherical take the classifier /-bra/.

/alu-bra-halaṅ/ 'ten potatoes'
potato-cl-ten

(2) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are long and slender take the classifier /-bru/.

/bɨ́jyìg-bru-kàprayk/ 'four bananas'
banana-cl-four

(3) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are big and spherical take the classifier /-pɨm/.

/manáṅ-pɨm-kɨnyâṅ/ 'nine balls'
ball-cl-nine

/kaprâ-pɨm-tahro/ 'six pumpkins'
pumpkin-cl-six

(4) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are flat and thin take the classifier /-na/.

/kâzɨ̀m-na-ge/ 'one cloth'
cloth-cl-one

/kitab-na-kàyíṅ/ 'two books'
book-cl-two

(5) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are broad and sharp take the classifier /-pla/.

/syâbrẽ́-pla-kàsàṅ/ 'three swords'
sword-cl-three

/tára-pla-wẽ́/ 'seven knives'
knife-cl-seven

(6) Inanimate nouns representing objects which are very big and are man-made like house, dam, etc. take the classifier /-dõ/.

/áṅ-dõ-máṅa/ 'five houses'
house-cl-five

/iskul-dõ-kàyíṅ/ 'two schools'
school-cl-two

(7) Inanimate nouns representing apertures take the classifier /-pe/.

/tadã́-pe-kàyíṅ/ 'two niches'
niche-cl-two

/khályàṅ-pe-kàsàṅ/ 'three doors'
door-cl-three

/hɨgùyk-pe-máṅa/ 'five caves'
cave-cl-five

(8) Non-human animate nouns take the classifier /-tyaṅ/.

/taméyìṅ-tyaṅ-malam/ 'hundred elephants'
elephant-cl-hundred

/tadáb-tyaṅ-tahro/ 'six falcons'
falcon-cl-six

/macyù-tyaṅ-kɨnyâṅ/ 'nine deer'
deer-cl-nine
/tabáb-tyaṅ-razaṅ/ 'thousand snakes'
snake-cl-thousand

(9) Human nouns do not take any classifier.

/míyà-kàyíṅ/ wife-two	'two wives'
/yúwà-kàsàṅ/ son-three	'three sons'
/gwág-tahro/ priest-six	'six priests'

2.1.3. Structure of the Noun:

A noun, in Mishmi, consists of a stem or a combination of stems followed by various suffixes. The suffixes are a nominalizer, a gender marker, a pluralizer or a classifier-numeral combination, a case marker and a comparison marker.

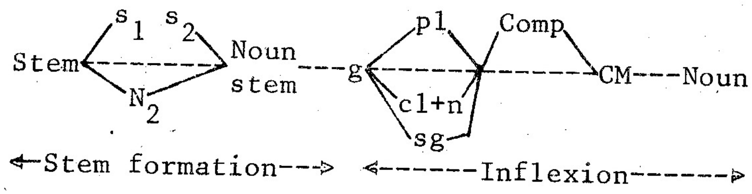
The structure is graphically represented in the following diagram.

g -- gender marker

s_1, s_2 -- stems

CM -- case marker

2.1.3.A.



The formation can only proceed along any path from left to right.

Cooccurrence Restrictions:

(1) Classifier, when it occurs, is always along with numeral.

(2) All suffixes except case marker are optional and precede the case marker.

(3) Comparison suffix occurs only in nominative case.

/kwág/	'dog'
/kwág-tapi/	'bitch'
/kwág-wèlàṅ/	'dogs'
/kwág-tapi-wèlàṅ/	'bitches'
/kwág-tyaṅ-kɨnyâṅ/ dog-cl-six	'six dogs'
/kwág-li/	'than dog'
/kwág-dɤ̀/	'to the dog'

Except gender, all other inflexional categories can operate on a noun phrase as well as a noun. Gender can be marked only for a noun.

The study of the fomration of a noun reveals two structural layers. Each is characterized by special morphological processes with different functions.

2.1.3.1. Stem Formation - Inner Structure of Nouns:

The inner structure of nouns centers on stem morphemes and the morphological processes that modify such stems to form stems of varying complexity. These processes modify the semantic content of the stem. It should be noted that most unanalyzable nouns can simply be said to have no inner structure since the other structural layers are typically quite transparent.

2.1.3.1.1. Simple Stems:

These are monomorphemic stems that have no analyzable inner structure.

/masáṅ/	'tree'
/macáb/	'cow'
/thíya/	'mountain'
/mówà/	'husband'
/míyà/	'wife'
/píya/	'bird'
/árwiṅkà/	'termite'
/hagràyg/	'squirrel'
/thréygbréyg/	'mongoose'

2.1.3.1.2. Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems. The nature of the constituent morphemes gives scope for a sub-categorization.

2.1.3.1.2.1. Primary Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems in which no constituent morpheme is a stem by itself. The derivation is from two bound morphemes.

/anaṅ/	'wife's brother'
/jyinaṅ/	'husband's sister'
/nábà/	'father'
/námà/	'mother'
/nátya/	'grand father'
/náya/	'grand mother'

/nábra/	'father-in-law'
/náyàp/	'mother-in-law'

The analysis of these forms would give the following morphemes.

/-naṅ/	'cross cousin by marriage'
/-tya/	'second generation male'
/-ya/	'second generation female'
/-bà/	'first generation male'
/-mà/	'first generation female'
/-bra/	'first generation male (by marriage)'
/-yàp/	'first generation female (by marriage)'
/a-/	'male (with reference to ego)'
/jyi-/	'female (with reference to ego)'
/ná-/	'parental relationship'

2.1.3.1.2.2. Secondary Derived Stems:

These are stems composed of at least one simple stem and one derivative suffix. The constituent stem may belong to any class.

2.1.3.1.2.2.1. Derivatives of Noun Stems:

(i) The derivative suffix /-rã/ denotes ancestral relationship beyond two generations.

/náya/	'grandmother'
/nayarã/	'female ancestor'
/nátya/	'grandfather'
/nátyarã/	'male ancestor'

(ii) The derivative suffix /-àk/ denotes colateral relations of parents with the relative age difference marked obligatorily by the derivative suffixes /-p/ and /-w/.

/nábà/	'father'
/nábà-p-àk/	'father's elder brother'
/nábà-w-àk/	'father's younger brother'
/námà/	'mother'
/námà-p-àk/	'parent's elder sister'
/námà-w-àk/	'parent's younger sister'

The terms for maternal uncle are different and do not follow this pattern of derivation.

(iii) The suffix /-à/ derives diminutives of the nouns to which it is attached.

/tára/	'dao'
/táraà/	'knife'
/píya/	'bird'
/píyaà/	'robin'

2.1.3.1.2.2.3. Derivatives of Adjectival Stems:

The derivation is unmarked. The nouns are derived from adjectives by a zero process (Ref.2.0.3). The adjectives represent abstract qualities.

/prà/	'good/goodness/virtue'
/maci/	'jealous/jealousy'
/masyá/	'secret/secrecy'
/kánám/	'reason/reasonable'

/madɤ̀/	'respect/respectful'

2.1.3.1.2.3. Compound Stems:

These are stems in which two or all of the constituent morphemes are, by themselves, stems. The compounds have unique semantic identity of their own, which may share the semantic notions of any of the constituent simple stems. There are two types of compounds in Mishmi.

(1) Compounds whose constituent morphemes are all nouns. These compounds can be distinguished from Noun Phrases (Ref. 3.2) by the following criteria:

(a) The compound is semantically distinct from the constituent morphemes..

(b) No other morphemes can be interposed within a compound.

(c) The formation of compounds follows the morphophonemic alterations admissible within a word.

Ex: (i) /tamyâ-hagɨ̀m/ 'leopard'
tiger-branch

(ii) /rín-kwág/ 'rabbit'
sun-dog

(iii) /tahɨ́m-tamyâ/ 'lion'
bear-tiger'

(iv) /khlèyk-bùm-tapɨ̀m/ 'beetle'
soil-mound-insect

(v) /grɤ́-bɨlɨ́m/ 'ankle'
leg-eye

(vi) /bɨlɨ́(m)-macyíg/ 'tears'
eye-water

The criteria used to distinguish Noun Phrase from compound nouns are illustrated below:

Consider the two constructions.

(vi) /bɨlɨ́macyíg/ 'tears' and
(vii) /táphra macyíg/ 'river water'

It is possible to interpose an adjective to modify the first noun in (vii) but not in (vi).

(viii) /táphra draṅ macyíg/ 'big river water'
river-big-water

Such modification of (i) will result in (ix) but not in (x).

(i) /tamyâ-hagɨ̀m/ 'leopard'
(ix) /tamyâhagɨ̀m draṅ/ 'big leopard'
leopard-big
(x)*/tamyâ draṅ hagɨ̀m/
tiger-big-branch

It is the second criterion that rules out (x). The morphophonemic rule 'the loss of intermorphemic gemination' is followed in example (vi).

(vi) bɨlɨ́macyíg <--- *bɨlɨ́m + macyíg
eye water

The morphophonemic rule viz., the absence of the glottalized vowel allophone is seen in the example (xiv) (Rule 2).

(xiv) masáṅám <---- masáṅ + ám
tree mango
[masÁ́ṅ + ?ám]

A Noun Phrase of the same type as (vi) would have retained the homorganic consonants across the boundary but would have had a pause between the consonants.

(xi) /hagɨ̀m maṅ́a/ 'five branches'

Similarly a Noun Phrase with the second constituent beginning with a vowel would have had a pause between the two constituents and the vowel in the second word would have been realized as a glottalized allophone as in (xii).

(xii) /macáb aṅ́/ 'cow shed'
● [macÁp + ʔaṅ́]

The first criterion is self-evident in the examples and need not be explained further.

Another variant of this type involves two simple stems, the first of which represents the semantic class to which the second belong. The compound is semantically identical to the second constituent.

(xiii) /masaṅ́-jyígràp/ 'flámboyant'
tree

(xiv) /masaṅ́-ám/ 'mango'
tree

(xv) /píya-klà/ 'crow'
bird

(2) The second type of compound contains an adjective as one of the constituents besides the noun.

Ex: (xvi) /tàmyim-lyô/ 'Rhesus monkey'
monkey-white

(xvii) /tàmyim-záp/ 'Langur monkey'
monkey-red

(xviii) /tamyâ-bodà/ 'Royal Bengal tiger'
tiger-big

Such compounds are in contrast with Noun Phrases of identical composition.

(xix) /tàmyim lyô/ 'white monkey'

(xx) /tàmyim záp/ 'red monkey'

(xxi) /tamyâ bodà/ 'big tiger'

The distinction is a result of criteria (a) and (b). For example, the addition of a gender marker to (xix) would give us (xxii).

(xxii) /tàmyim-tapi lyô/ 'female white
monkey-female-white monkey'

But the same process when applied to (xvi) would result in (xxiii) .

(xxiii) /tàmyim-lyô-tapi/ 'female Rhesus
monkey-white-female monkey'

In the same way, if an adjective qualifies (xvii), it would result in (xxiv)[1].

(xxiv) /tàmyim-záp-draṅ/ 'big Langur'
monkey-red-big

and if it qualifies (xx), it would result in (xxv).

(xxv) /tàmyim draṅ záp/ 'big red monkey'

Also consider the compound word (xxvi) and Noun

---

[1] Incidentally, colour adjectives follow size adjectives.

Phrase (xxvii).

(xxvi) /píya-à/ 'robin'
bird-small

(xxvii) /píya à/ 'a small bird'

(xxvi) can be qualified by /draṅ/ 'big'.

(xxviii) /píya-à draṅ/ 'big robin'

Such a modification would be paradoxical and ungrammatical when applied to (xxvii), i.e., example (xxix) is unacceptable.

(xxix) */píya draṅ à/ 'a small big bird'

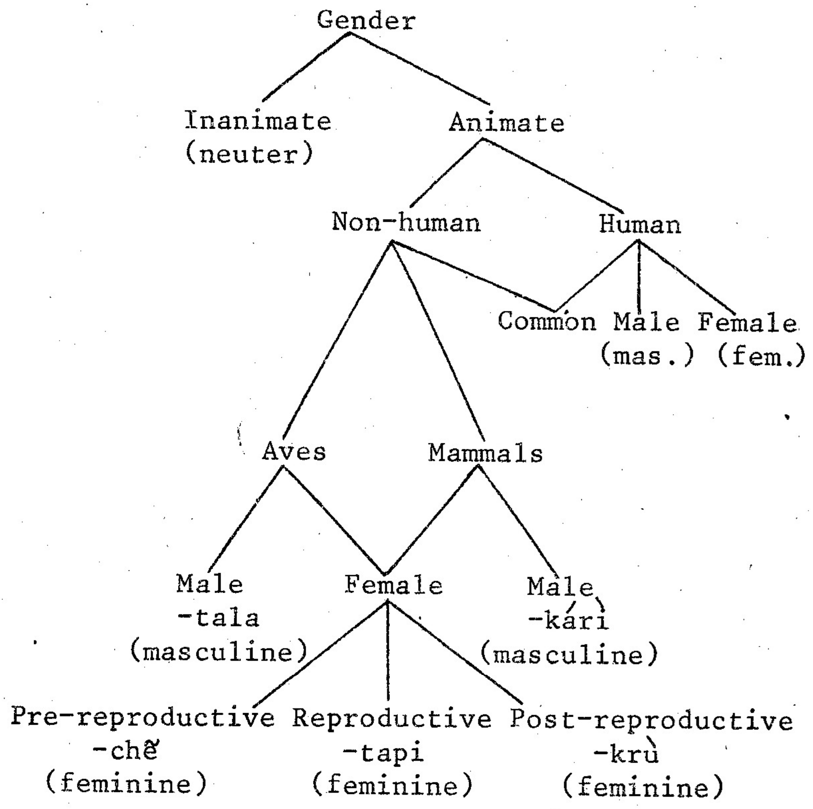
2.1.3.2. Inflexion - Outer Structure of Nouns:

The stems described in the preceding section may, in turn, be modified by suffixation to produce inflected forms adding to the stems, notions of gender, number, person, and case without basically modifying their semantic content.

2.1.3.2.1. Gender:

The gender distinction in Mishmi is natural. That is, all the male beings come under the masculine and all the female beings come under the feminine. The basic gender distinction is between nouns referring to animate and inanimate beings. All inanimate things fall under the neuter gender. Some of the animate beings are not distinguished for gender and hence fall under common gender. The rest of the nouns are distinguished for humanness, i.e., human and non-human with a masculine distinction for both. The non-human masculine markers are distinct for birds and animals. The non-human feminine nouns are distinguished for fertility, i.e., the ability to produce offspring/lay eggs giving a three-way distinction, viz., pre-reproductive, reproductive and post-reproductive. The gender distinctions are shown in 2.1.3.2.1.A.

2.1.3.2.1.A.



The grammatical representation of various gender distinctions is either lexical, or by compounding or by suffixation.

2.1.3.2.1.1. Neuter:

These are nouns representing inanimate objects. The gender is lexical.

/masáṅ/	'tree'
/macyíg/	'water'
/táphra/	'river'

2.1.3.2.1.2. Common:

The gender refers to animate beings which, however, make no distinction for male and female. Some common gender nouns are distinguished for masculine and feminine by overt marking.

(i) Non-human animate beings other than birds and mammals. The gender distinction is never made morphologically.

/táṅa/	'fish'
/árŏ̀/	'moth'
/tɨ́kằ/	'grasshopper'
/táníṅ/	'crocodile'

(ii) Many human nouns representing professions belong to common gender.

/gwág/	'priest'

(iii) Other non-human animate nouns and some human nouns. Gender distinction is optional and is marked morphologically.

/à/	'child'
/kwág/	'dog'
/macáb/	'cow'
/tyú/	'fowl'

2.1.3.2.1.3. Masculine:

Masculine gender is expressed in three ways.

(i) Lexical;

/syâbrè/	'man'
/mówà/	'husband'
/kámù/	'husband's sister's husband'

(ii) Compounding:

/à-mówà/ offspring-husband	'boy'

(iii) Suffixation:

The animate nouns in common gender may be optionally specified for masculine by taking gender suffixes.

(a) The non-human animate masculinity of birds is expressed by the suffix /-tala/.

/tyú-tala/ fowl-male	'cock'

(b) The non-human animate masculinity of animals is expressed by the suffix /-kárì/.

/macáb-kárì/ cow-male	'bull'
/tamyâ-kárì/ tiger-male	'tiger'

/bɨ́lìg-kárì/ pig-male	'boar'

2.1.3.2.1.4. Feminine:

Feminine gender is expressed in three ways.

(i) Lexical:

/míyà/	'wife'
/áyã̀/	'daughter'
/nyàṅ/	'daughter-in-law'
/nyarap/	'woman'

(ii) Compounding:

/à-míyà/ offspring-wife	'girl'

(iii) Suffixation:

The animate nouns in common gender may optionally be specified for feminine gender. Where specified, the feminine is marked for pre-reproductive, reproductive and post-reproductive stages by different suffixes.

(a) The non-human animate pre-reproductive femininity is expressed by the suffix /-chẽ/. The nouns taking the suffix would represent animals and birds before the egglaying/offspring-bearing stage.

/tyú-chẽ/	'hen'
/macáb-chẽ/	'cow'
/kwág-chẽ/	'bitch'
/tamyâ-chẽ/	'tigress'

(b) The non-human animate reproductive femininity is expressed by suffix /-tapi/. The nouns taking this suffix would represent the animals and birds in the egg-laying/offspring-bearing stage.

/tyú-tapi/	'hen'
/macáb-tapi/	'cow'
/kwág-tapi/	'bitch'
/tamyâ-tapi/	'tigress'

(c) The non-human animate post-reproductive femininity is expressed by the suffix /-krù/. The nouns taking this suffix would represent animals and birds beyond the egg-laying/offspring bearing stage.

/tyú-krù/	'hen'
/macáb-krù/	'cow'
/kwág-krù/	'bitch'
/tamyâ-krù/	'tigress'

2.1.3.2.2. Number:

Only count nouns are inflected for number. The number inflexion is between singular and plural.

2.1.3.2.2.1. Singular:

Most of the nouns are lexically singular. However, it may be reinforced by either the suffix /-ge/ or the numeral /khíñ/ 'one'.

/kwág/	'dog'

/kwágtyaṅge/	'one dog'
/kwágtyaṅkhíṅ/	'one dog'

Singular may also be reinforced by the suffix /-thi/ 'single' where the noun represents animals or birds which usually move in groups.

/támè/	'wild boar'
/támèthi/	'wild boar which was single or alone'

2.1.3.2.2.2. Plural:

Nouns are overtly marked for plural. The inflexion is marked in four ways. The four processes are mutually exclusive.

(i) Pluralizing by numerals:

A noun can be inflected for plural by modifying it with a numeral other than 'one'.

/áṅ-dõ-máṅa/ house-cl-five	'five houses'

(ii) Pluralizing by quantifier:

A noun can be inflected for plural by modifying it with a quantifier. Incidentally the quantifier /cu/ 'all' precedes the noun instead of following it.

/cu mè/ all-man	'all men'
/taméyìṅ tarab/ elephant-herd	'herd of elephants'
/macáb tarɨm/ cow-herd	'herd of cows'

/mè kɨtɨge/	man-few	'a few men'

(iii) Pluralizing by suffixation:

Nouns are also marked for plural by adding a plural suffix. There are two allomorphs of the plural suffix in Mishmi.

(a) /-làṅ/ is used to inflect third person pronouns.

/cyálàṅ/	he-pl	'they'
/wé-làṅ/	he-pl	'they'
/hí-làṅ/	he-pl	'they'
/é-làṅ/	this-pl	'these'

(b) /-wèlàṅ/ is used to mark the plural of nouns other than pronouns.

/masáṅ-wèlàṅ/	tree-pl	'trees'
/píya-wèlàṅ/	bird-pl	'birds'
/macáb-wèlàṅ/	cow-pl	'cows'
/tániṅ́-wèlàṅ/	crocodile-pl	'crocodiles'
/mè-wèlàṅ/	man-pl	'men'

(iv) Lexical plural:

The first and second person pronouns have separate lexical items for singular and plural.

/hã́/	'I'
/níṅ/	'we'
/nyú/	'you (sg.)'
/ánè/	'you (pl.)'

2.1.4. Pronouns:

Pronouns form a subclass of nouns. They are anaphoric, in the sense, that they replace nouns in a sentence. They are distinguished from nouns by the criterion of person. Nouns are always in third person. Pronouns occur with reference to three persons, viz., the speaker, the person addressed to and the rest.

The major classification of pronouns is into personal and interrogative pronouns.

2.1.4.1. Personal Pronouns:

They constitute one of the several classes of elements whose meaning is to be stated with reference to *'Diexis'*, i.e., the spatio-temporal situation of the utterance. In different situations, the nouns are replaced by different pronouns. The choice of replacement is based on the following criteria.

(i) Referent in the Utterance:

The person or the thing referred to in the sentence. This shows a three-way apposition.

First person: Referent is the speaker of the utterance.

Second person: Referent is the person to whom the utterance is addressed.

Third person: Referent is someone other than the above two.

(ii) Gender Reference:

By virtue of the definition of language, the speaker and the listener are always human or presumed to have human characteristics. However, the third person can refer to any gender. A lexical distinction is made for third person between human and non-human in a restricted environment.

(iii) Diexis:

The speaker and the listener do not have any diectic characteristics. It is significant for third person and incorporated two types of distinctions.

(a) Proximity:

It indicates whether the referent in the utterance is near the speaker or far away from him, in space as well as time giving rise to two distinctions, viz., proximate and remote. No further distinctions are made for proximate.

(b) Visibility:

However, the remote third person is distinguished for visibility. It indicates whether the referent is within the range of vision of the speaker or not. The reference is more to the knowledge of the speaker as to whether the referent is in his range of vision rather than the physical presence of the referent. The distinction is lexical.

(iv) Number Reference:

The number inflexion gives two types of pronouns, as in the case of nouns, viz., singular and plural. The first person plural is exclusive and indicates a grouping of the speaker with one or more of the rest other than the person addressed to. Other persons in plural indicate that more than one person is addressed to or more than one person is referred to. The plurals of the first and the second persons are lexical. Plural inflexion to the third person is by suffixation. The plural suffix /-làṅ/ is added to the singular pronouns.

/cyá/	/cyálàṅ/
/é/	/élàṅ/
/wé/	/wélàṅ/
/hí/	/hílàṅ/

The pronominal system incorporating all the above criteria gives rise to twelve personal pronouns. The system is given in the diagram 2.1.4.1.A.

2.1.4.1.A.

Personal Pronouns	Speaker			Singular	hã́
				Plural	níṅ
	Addressee			Singular	nyú
				Plural	ánè
	The Rest	Remote:	Visible -	Singular	wé
				Plural	wélàṅ
			Invisible -	Singular	hí
				Plural	hílàṅ
		Proximate:	Human -	Singular	cyá
				Plural	cyálàṅ
			Non-human -	Singular	é
				Plural	élàṅ

2.1.4.2. Interrogative Pronouns:

These pronouns replace the nouns and adverbs in interrogative sentences. The stem formation shows three stages.

(1) Simple Stems:

These are monomorphemic stems and are further unanalyzable. They are four in number.

(a) The pronoun /syâ/ replaces human nouns.

(b) The pronoun /hanú/ replaces nouns with a spatial reference.

(c) The pronoun /símthà/ replaces concrete non-human nouns.

(d) The pronoun /jya/ replaces abstract nouns and nouns with demonstrative/ abstract reference.

Ex:	(a) /syâ/	'who'
	(b) /hanú/	'where'
	(c) /símthà/	'what non-human being/ object'
	(d) /jya/	'what abstract quality' 'what kind of object/ non-human being'

(2) Primary Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems analyzable into two bound morphemes.

/kadi-gõ/	'when'
/hayṍ-gõ/	'where'

(3) Secondary Derived Stems:

These are composed of one simple stem and one or more bound morphemes.

/hanú-wacyà/	'whither/where to'
/jya-walà/	'how'

(4) Compound Stems:

These are composed of two or more simple stems.

/jya-kánám/ what-reason	'why'

2.1.4.3. Demonstrative Pronouns:

/é/	'this'
/wé/	'that'
/jya/	'which'

The demonstrative pronouns show only proximate-remote distinction.

2.1.5. Case:

Case the grammatical category that relates the noun phrases to the predicate in a sentence. The syntactic-semantic relationships that exist between the noun phrases and the predicate are termed case relations. Thus genitive, a nominal relation, is eliminated from the case system. The Mishmi case system is composed of six cases.

(1) Nominative.
(2) Accusative.
(3) Dative.
(4) Ablative.
(5) Instrumental.
(6) Locative.

These cases are marked either by overt morphemes or by the position of the Noun Phrase in the sentence in the sentence. The morphemes are mostly suffixes. Some spatio-temporal adverbs mark case relations in a few instances. The morphemes representing the case relations are considered suffixes primarily due to their non-occurrence independently and the absence of a potential pause between the Noun Phrases and the case markers.

2.1.5.1. Nominative:

This relates the surface subject in the sentence to the predicate. The subject and the predicate agrees as to number and person. The case, however, may have different semantic functions.

2.1.5.1.1. Agent:

This is the volitional animate precipitator or instigator of the action identified by the verb. The case is unmarked. The first unmarked Noun Phrase in the sentence is identified as the agent*. This typically is the subject of the action verbs (for a detailed description of action verbs and other semantic verb classes used here and elsewhere, please see the section 2.5.2.2) and one type of action-causal verbs.

(1) /nyú^{1} án^{2} bóyà^{3}/ 'you^{1} will go^{3} home^{2}'
Nom [A] Acc

---

*In all examples given hereafter, the Noun Phrase in the case being described is underlined.

(2) /hã́^{1} píya^2 ode^3/ 'I^1 shall shoot^3
Nom [A] Acc a bird^2'

2.1.5.1.2. Executor:

This is the non-volitional animate precipitator of the action identified by the verb. The case is unmarked. The first unmarked Noun Phrase in the sentence is identified as the executor. This typically occurs as the subject of the action-causal verbs.

(3) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thádebo^3/
Nom [Exec] Acc go-IF(1Sg)-Cau
'I^1 was caused to eat^3 food^2'

(4) /nyú^1 píya^2 ódebo^3/
Nom [Exec] Acc shoot-IF(2Sg)-Cau

'you^1 were caused to shoot^3 a bird^2'

2.1.5.1.3. Experiencer:

This is the animate being which directly experiences the physical, physiological or psychological state, sensation or emotion identified by the verb. This typically occurs as the subject of the sensory and cognitive state verbs. The case is marked by the Noun Phrase taking the suffix /-wè/.

(5) /nyú yuwàwè^1 masyẽ̀tyóà^2/
Nom [Exp]

'your son^1 is hungry^2'

(6) /hã́wè^1 cyáparõ̀^{2} rúgade^3/
Nom [Exp] Acc

'I^1 love^3 his friend^2'

(7) /ḅramtiṅwè^1 dùkabiya^2/
Nom [Exp]

'Bramting^1 will be sad^2'

2.1.5.1.4. Object:

This is the animate or inanimate being that is directly affected by the action identified by the verb or whose natural properties, qualities, attributes or identity is expressed by the predicate. This typically is the subject of non-psychological process verbs or equational sentences without a copula. The case is marked by the Noun Phrase taking the suffix /-wè/.

(8) /hã́ míyàwè^1 syîyà^2/
Nom [O]

'my wife^1 is fair^2'

(9) /majyáràykwè^1 áṅkwẽ́^{2} à^3/
Nom [O]

'the cat^1 is^3 in the house^2'

(10) /nyú nábàwè^1 gwág^2/
Nom [O]

'your father^1 is a priest^2'

(11) /é tapɨ̂wè^1 iyagõ^2 piwyà^3/
Nom [O]

'this flower^1 blooms^3 at night^2'

2.1.5.1.5. Subject Selection Hierarchy:

The agent, the experiencer and the executor are in complementary distribution, i.e., they occur with different semantic classes of verbs. Whenever the sentence has one of these, it automatically becomes the subject. In the absence of either of these, the object becomes the subject of the sentence.

(12) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháso^3/
Nom [A]
'I^1 ate^3 rice^2'

(13) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thádebo^3/
Nom [Exec]
'I^1 ate (was caused to)^3 rice^2'

(14) /hã́wè^1 masyẽ̀tyóde^2/
Nom [Exp]
'I^1 am hungry^2'

(15) /tapɨ̂wèlànwè^1 iyagõ^2 piwyà^3/
Nom [O]
'flowers^1 bloom^3 at night^2'

Subject selection is also conditioned in some cases by topicalization. In a sentence which has either an agent or an executor, any of the other Noun Phrases or the verb can become the subject by topicalizing the sentence (for a detailed description of topicalization, refer to section 3.5).

(16) /wíñyàwè^1 kwágnà^2 wínà^3/
Nom [V] [A]

'the dog^2 barks^3 (the barking)^1'

(17) /áñwè^1 kárìgliyà^2/
Nom [O]

'(someone) built^2 the house^1'

(18) /é jagiwè^1 cyánà^2 zúà^3/
Nom [O] [A]

'he^2 writes^3 the note^1'

2.1.5.2. Accusative:

This relates the surface object to the verb in the sentence. The case is unmarked. The Noun Phrase in the accusative case can be topicalized. The unmarked Noun Phrase is placed immediately to the left of the verb. Semantically the case has only the object function which is the case of the animate or inanimate being affected by the action of the verb.

(19)/hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháso^3/
Nom Acc [O]
'I^1 ate^3 rice^2'

2.1.5.3. Dative:

This case relates the goal to the verb in the sentence. The dative cannot be topicalized. When it is not co-referential with the agent, the dative Noun Phrase may represent different types of goals.

2.1.5.3.1. Recipient:

It specifies the animate being to which the object is transferred at the culmination of the action identified by the verb. This case typically occurs with recipient transitive verbs and the Noun Phrase in the dative case is marked by the suffix /-dồ/.

(20) /hã́^{1} wédồ^{2} plamáṅa^{3} haṅso^{4}/
Nom Dat Acc
'I^{1} gave^{4} him^{2} five rupees^{3}'

(21) /nyú^{1} hã́dồ^{2} kitab^{3} hakẽyà^{4}/
Nom Dat Acc
'you^{1} will show^{4} me^{2} a book^{3}'

2.1.5.3.2. Allative:

The goal is spatial. That is it specifies the point in space to where the subject is transferred at the culmination of the action identified by the verb. The spatial Noun Phrase in dative case is marked by the suffix /-nyù/ when the sentence contains an accusative Noun Phrase.

(22) /kathíṅ^{1} kalyápnyù^{2} tapẽ́^{3} syiso^{4}/
Nom Dat Acc
'the ant^{1} brought^{4} the rice^{3} to the field^{2}'

Where the sentence does not have an accusative Noun Phrase, the dative is unmarked and occurs as the first Noun Phrase to the left of the verb.

(23) /hã́^{1} áṅ^{2} bóliyà^{3}/
Nom Dat
'I^{1} went^{3} home^{2}'

(24) /nyú^{1} tejyabgõ^{2} hayulyaṅ^{3} hanáná^{4}/
Nom Abl Dat
'you^{1} come^{4} to Hayuliang^{3} from Tezu^{2}'

2.1.5.3.3. Benefactive:

This case refers to the animate goal to whom the result of the action identified by the verb is intended. The Noun Phrase is marked by the suffix /-bà/.

(25) /tamyâ^{1} ríṅbà^{2} tàbrẽ́^{3} maliṅso^{4}/
Nom Dat Acc
'the tiger^{1} was hunting^{4} meat^{3} for
the Sun^{2}'

The difference between the dative beneficiery and the dative recipient is that the verb being a recipient transitive is not a necessary condition to the former.

(26) /gwág^{1} kádɨ́gmèbà^{2} jyábmalù^{3} kàmà^{4} /
Nom Dat Acc
'the priest^{1} prays^{4} to God^{3} for
all men^{2}'

(27) /kathíṅ^{1} ranibà^{2} tapẽ́^{3} syisobɨrɨ^{4}/
Nom Dat Acc
'The ant^{1} was bringing^{4} rice^{3} to the
queen^{2}'

2.1.5.3.4. Time:

The goal may specify the point in time of the culmination of the action identified by the verb. The morphological representation depends on various factors.

(i) When the time referred to is specified as a break in the occurrence of the event, i.e., if the event occurs right upto the referred time which is not the culmination of the action but only a temporary end and the action is likely to be resumed and continued beyond that moment, the case inflexion is by suffixing /-khre/ to the Noun Phrase.

(28) /hã́^{1} sohíṅkhre^2 bàne^3/
Nom Loc [T]
'I^1 shall work^3 till tomorrow^2 (and
may work beyond that'

(ii) When the time is specified as the post-terminal reference of the occurrence of the action, i.e., when the action is expected to occur completely before the time referred to, the case inflexion is by suffixing /-bẽ/ to the Noun Phrase.

(29) /hã́^{1} sohíṅbẽ^2 bàne^3/
Nom Loc [T]
'I^1 shall do the work^3 by (before)
tomorrow^2'

(iii) When the time referred to is specified as the termination of the action, i.e., the action ended at that particular time, the case inflexion is by suffixing /-tyɨg/ to the Noun Phrase.

(30) /hã́^{1} ánàgŏ^{2} lyáṅtyɨg^{3} chyígso^{4}/
Nom Loc [T-beg] Loc [T-end]
'I^{1} walked^{4} from dawn^{2} to dusk^{3}'

2.1.5.4. Ablative:

This case relates the source to the verb in the sentence. Where the source is not the agent, the case has three semantic functions.

2.1.5.4.1. Donor:

The case is specified as the animate or inanimate being from which the object is transferred. It occurs with action verbs and is marked by the suffix /-nyù/.

(31) /cyá^{1} hã́nyù^{2} plamáṅa^{3} syiliyà^{4}/
Nom Abl [D] Acc
'he^{1} took^{4} five rupees^{3} from me^{2}'

(31a) /hã́^{1} gwágnyù^{2} tápŏkàsàṅ^{3} bràygde^{4}
Nom Abl [D̄]
'I^{1} bought^{4} three bells^{3} from the priest^{2}'

2.1.5.4.2. Source:

The case is specified as the point in space at which the action specified by the verb begins. It occurs with motion verbs of direction and is realized as the case inflexion /-gõ/ suffixed to the Noun Phrase.

(32) /hã́^{1} kalyápgõ^{2} áṅ^{3} bóliyà^{4}/
Nom Abl [S] Dat
'I^{1} went^{4} home^{3} from the field^{2}'

(33) /hã́^{1} tejyabgõ^{2} hayulyaṅ^{3} bóne^{4}/
Nom Abl [S] Dat
'I^{1} shall go^{4} to Hayuliang^{3} from Tezu^{2}'

2.1.5.4.3. Time:

The case is specified as the point in time at which the action identified by the verb begins. The case is realized as the inflexion /-gõ/ suffixed to the Noun Phrase.

(34) /hã́^{1} ánàgõ^{2} lyáṅtyɨg^{3} chyígso^{4}/
Nom Loc [T-beg] Loc [T-end]
'I^{1} walked^{4} from dawn^{2} to dusk^{3}'

2.1.5.5. Instrumental:

The case relates the instrument to the verb in the sentence. The morphological realization is based on its two semantic functions.

2.1.5.5.1. Instrument:

It is the inanimate being or force that is causally involved in the precipitation of the action identified by the verb. It occurs with action verbs and is realized as the inflexion /-gõ/ suffixed to the Noun Phrase.

(35) /cyá^1 álèykgõ^2 píya^3 óà^4/
Nom Inst Acc
'he^1 shoots^4 birds^3 with arrows^2'

(36) /kádɨ́gmè^1 syâbrẽ́gõ^2 hádõgaà^3/
Nom Inst
'All men^1 fight^3 with swords^2'

2.1.5.5.2. Agent:

In topicalized sentences, the agent is demoted to the instrumental case. The demoted agent Noun Phrase takes the case inflexion /-nà/. The case specifies the animate precipitator of the action identified by the verb.

(37) /píyawè^1 tabróchŏ̀nà^2 óà^3/
Nom [O] Inst [A]
'the hunter^2 shoots^3 the bird^1'

(38) /hã́wè^1 tamyânà^2 syéliyà^3/
Nom [O] Inst [A]
'the tiger^2 killed^3 me^1'

2.1.5.6. Locative:

The case relates the locative or temporal Noun Phrase to the verb in the sentence. Semantically the locative has three functions.

2.1.5.6.1. Place:

This case specifies the spatial orientation of the action or event identified by the verb. The morphological realizations are based on distinctions like internal/external, enclosed/open and general/specific each represented by a separate suffix.

(i) General Reference:

This indicates the location of the event or action in the general vicinity of a point in space and is marked by the suffix /-û/.

(39) /hã́ nábà^{1} áṅû^{2} íṅso^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'my father^{1} slept^{3} at home^{2}'

(40) /tabróchõ̀^{1} áṅû^{2} íyà^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'the hunter^{1} is^{3} at home^{2}'

(ii) Event Location:

This specifies the environment in which the event or action takes place rather than a specific point in space. The case is marked by the suffix /-gà/ and typically occurs with motion verbs.

(41) /garwi^{1} khheligà^{2} chyábsyiga^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'the horse^{1} runs^{3} in a race^{2}'

(iii) Metabatic Location:

It specifies the spatial orientation of the event identified by the verb and further specifies that the event is preceded by some movement of the subject. The movement is not indicated in the predicate. The case occurs typically with non-motion verbs and the verb of existence and is indicated by the locative Noun Phrase taking the suffix /-zàk/.

(42) /píyawè^{1} masánzàk^{2} à^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'the bird^{1} is^{3} on the tree^{2} (after having flown from somewhere and landed on it)'

(43) /hã́wè^{1} mlâzàk^{2} íde^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'I^{1} am^{3} in the village^{2} (after having traveled from somewhere and stopped here)'

(iv) Specific Reference:

This specifies the particular point in space at which or the environment in which the event or action identified by the verb is located and is marked by the Noun Phrase taking the suffix /-kyã̀/.

(44) /píyawè^{1} masánkyã̀^{2} à^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'the bird^{1} is^{3} on the tree^{2}' *in the sense of* 'the bird lives in the tree'

(45) /hã́wè^{1} mlâkyã̀^{2} íde^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'I^{1} am^{3} in the village^{2}' *in the sense of* 'I live in the village'

(v) Internal-Enclosed:

This case specifies the environment in which the subject/the action or the event identified by the verb is located and further specifies that the subject and event are enclosed in the environment. The case is marked by suffixing /-kwẽ́/ to the Noun Phrase representing the environment.

(46) /píyawè^{1} tapɨ̀mkwẽ́^{2} à^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'the bird^{1} is^{3} in the cage^{2}'

(47) /hã́^{1} áṅkwẽ́^{2} íṅso^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'I^{1} slept^{3} in the house^{2}'

(vi) Internal-Open:

This case specifies the environment in which the subject is situated or the event or action identified by the verb is taking place and also signifies that the environment is the place where the subject is expected to be in by natural laws. The case is marked by suffixing /-kõ/ to the Noun Phrase representing the environment.

(48) /macyígwè^{1} táphrakõ^{2} à^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'(there) is^{3} water^{1} in the river^{2}'

(49) /táṅa^{1} táphrakõ^{2} patêa^{3}/
Nom Loc [P]
'fish^{1} swim^{3} in the river^{2}'

(50) /mè^{1} hɨbáṅkõ^{2} taméyìṅ^{3} syéliyà^{4}/
Nom Loc [P]

'the man^{1} killed^{4} the elephant^{3}
in the forest^{2}'

2.1.5.6.2. Time:

Time relationships fall into two types. The first type comprise those relationships which are general. The occurrence of the event is fixed with reference to some specified time. But the event does not or may not occur at that specified time. Such relationships are marked by the suffix /-gõ/.

(51) /hã́^{1} bajyekàyíngõ^{2} án^{3} bóde^{4}/
Nom Loc [T] Dat
'I^{1} shall go^{4} home^{3} at 2 o'Clock^{2}
(may be a little before or a little
later but roughly around two)'

The second type comprise the relationships which are specific. The event is specified to occur precisely at the specified time. Within this the morphological realization depends upon duration. Specification of non-progressive momentary time is marked by the suffix /-dõ/.

(52) /tamyâ^{1} bajyekàyíndõ^{2} hanáso^{3}/
Nom Loc [T]
'the tiger^{1} came^{3} at 2 o'Clock^{2}'

(53) /kádɨ́gmè^{1} bajyemánadõ^{2} tapẽ́^{3} tháso^{4}/
Nom Loc [T] Acc
'All the men^{1} ate^{4} food^{3} at 5 o'Clock^{2}'

Specification of a span of time or duration within which the event is expected to occur is marked by the suffix /-gɤ/. That is, the event will begin and end within the specified interval of time.

(54) /tamyâ^{1} iyagɤ̃^{2} tàbré^{3} malinà^{4}/
Nom Loc [T]
'tiger^{1} hunts^{4} meat^{3} at night^{2}'

Specification of a span of time or duration in the occurrence of the event is unmarked, i.e., the event occurs over a specified period but no reference is made to the beginning or the end of the action identified by the verb. The verb in such a sentence is either an existential or a non-directional motion verb.

(55) /hã́wè^{1} hálókàsàn^{2} tejyabgɤ̃^{3} ítyaso^{4}
Nom Loc [T] Loc [P]
'I^{1} was^{4} at Tezu^{3} for 3 months'

(56) /wé^{1} kiyamána^{2} chyígso^{3}/
Nom Loc [T]
'he^{1} walked^{3} for five days^{2}'

2.1.5.6.3. Path:

This is the spatial location of a point with reference to which an action or event or change of state occurs. The case typically occurs with motion verbs. A distinction is made between unidimensional and multidimensional path for formal realization. The unidimensional path is taken to be a point without dimensions and the action is only described with reference to it. The multidimensional path, however, is with reference to place with an area or volume and the action, or process while in progress, is taken to have passed through and within the location. The dimensions are more psychological in the sense that they are associated more with the perception of the speaker rather than the physical object in question.

(i) Unidimensional path is marked by the suffix /-myɤ/.

(57) /hã́^{1} tejyabgɤ̃^{2} taphraga(m)myɤ^{3}
Nom Abl Loc [Pa]

hayulyaṅ^{4} bóde^{5}/
Dat
'I^{1} go^{5} to Hayuliang^{4} from Tezu^{2} via
Taphragam^{3}/

(ii) Multidimensional path is marked by the suffix /-thi/.

(58) /hã́^{1} tejyabgɤ̃^{2} taphragamthi^{3}
Nom Abl Loc [Pa]

hayulyaṅ^{4} bóde^{5}/
Dat
'I^{1} go^{5} to Hayuliang^{4} from Tezu^{2}
through Taphragam^{3}'

Multidimensional path is also marked by a combination of the locative and dative inflexions.

(58a) /píya^{1} taméyìṅ^{2} krùnàkwĕ́nyù^{3}
Nom Loc [Pa]

lyaṅnabo^{4}/
'the bird^{1} entered^{4} into the ear^{3}
of the elephant^{2}'

The combination of /-kwĕ́/, a locative suffix and /-nyù/, a dative suffix gives the sense of the bird entering the ear, fly through it and come out. The elephant's ear is conceived here as a transitory point in the bird's flight path.

2.1.6. Comparison:

There are two degrees of comparison each represented by a distinct morpheme. Where one of the compared entities is qualitatively identical to the other, the suffix /-dathi/ is added to the second NP. This suffix can roughly be translated into English as 'as ... as'.

(59) /hắwè^{1} nyúdathi^{2} prà^{3}/
Nom you-Comp
'I^{1} am as good^{3} as you^{2}'

(60) /é taméyìṅwè^{1} wé taméyìṅdathi^{2} draṅ^{3}/
this-elephant that-elephant-Comp big
Nom
'this elephant^{1} (is) as big^{3} as that
elephant^{2}'

When one of the Noun Phrases is qualitatively different, the compared Noun Phrase takes the suffix /-li/ which may be translated into English as 'than'.

(61) /hã́ míyàwè^1 nyú míyàli^2 dɨgyṍ syîyà^3/
Nom Comp more fair
'my wife^1 is fairer^3 than your wife^2'

Note that the adjectival marking for comparison is only for a greater degree. To say 'my wife is less beautiful than your wife' is only possible in the form of 'your wife is more beautiful than my wife'.

(62) /aniniwè^1 tejyabli^2 dɨgyṍ zṍwà^3/
Nom Comp more cold
'Anini^1 is colder^3 than Tezu^2'

(63) /taméyìnwè^1 macyùli^2 dranyṍ^{3}/
Nom Comp big-Comp
'an elephant^1 is bigger^3 than a deer^2'

(64) /cyáwè^1 nyúli^2 dɨgyṍ íncima^3/
Nom Comp more
'he^1 is sleepier^3 than you^2'

2.2. Adjective

2.2.1. Nature of Adjectives:

Adjectives, as a class, consist of all such words whose function in the language is to modify nouns. They specify value ('good', 'bad'); age ('old', 'new'); human propensities ('happy', 'sad', 'angry', and so on); physiological states ('sleepy', 'drowsy', 'hungry'); physical properties ('light', 'sweet', 'bitter', 'ugly'); states resulting from actions ('completed', 'broken', 'full'); dimension ('small', 'big', 'long'); position and posture ('near', 'inside of'); speed ('fast', 'slow'); numerals ('one', 'two') and a full set of derived ordinal numerals ('first', 'second'); and colour terms. The basic colour terms are abstract like 'white','black' and 'fair', the others being described by common nouns used adjectivally.

Adjectives follow the noun in the phrase structure except /cu/ and /kádɨ́g/ 'all', i.e., Noun + X + Adj where 'X' is the cover symbol whose occurrence is determined by the other two constituents (See, classifiers in 2.1.2.2. and Noun Phrase 3.2).

/mlâ draṅ/ village-big	'big village'
/áṅ dɔ̃-máṅa/ house-cl-five	'five houses'

2.2.2. Classification of Adjectives:

Adjectives can be classified under two major heads semantically.

2.2.2.1. Qualifiers:

These comprise the adjectives which indicate the qualities of the nouns associated with them.

/prà/	'good'
/draṅ/	'big'
/záp/	'red'

2.2.2.2. Quantifiers:

These are adjectives which indicate -

(a) The quantity of the objects being represented by the noun;

/cu/	'all'
/kádɨ́g/	'all'
/abrɨge/	'some'

(b) A collection or group of the objects/beings represented by the noun;

/tarab/	'herd of wild animals'
/tarɨm/	'herd of domestic animals'

(c) The number of objects/beings represented by the noun.

/khíṅ/	'one'
/kàsàṅ/	'three'

2.2.3. Structure of Adjectives:

An adjective, in Mishmi, contains a stem or a combination of stems and various affixes. Its structure has only the inner layer of stem formation. The structure centers on stem morphemes and the morphological processes that modify such stems to form stems of varying complexity. These processes modify the semantic content of the stem.

2.2.3.1. Simple Stems:

These are monomorphemic stems with no

analyzable inner structure. A very large number of adjectives belong to this group. They include:

(i) Qualifiers -

/prà/	'good'
/draṅ/	'big'

(ii) Quantifiers including the basic numerals and the basic ordinal numbers; they indicate -

(a) The quantity of the objects represented by the noun,

/cu/	'all'
/kádɨ́g/	'all'
/abrɨge/	'some'

(b) A collection of the articles or beings represented by the noun,

/tarab/	'herd of wild animals'
/tarɨm/	'herd of domestic animals'

(c) Cardinal numbers, and

/khíṅ/	'one'
/kàyíṅ/	'two'
/kàsàṅ/	'three'
/kàprayk/	'four'
/máṅa/	'five'
/tahro/	'six'
/wẽ/	'seven'
/lɨm/	'eight'
/kɨnyâṅ/	'nine'
/hálaṅ/	'ten'
/malam/	'hundred'

/rázaṅ/	'thousand'

(c) Ordinal numbers.

/háyṍ/	'first'
/tábõ̀/	'second'
/hámyṍ/	'third'
/mámyú/	'third and so on'

2.2.3.2. Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems analyzable into either more than one simple stems or a simple stem with one or more affixes. Following the same pattern as for nouns, two sub-types can be found based on the nature of constituent morphemes.

2.2.3.2.1. Primary Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems composed of two or more bound morphemes, i.e., neither of the constituent morphemes is a stem by itself. The analysis is prompted by the use of the antecedent morpheme as a comparative suffix elsewhere. The stem is used as a comparative marker.

/dɨgyõ/	'more'

analyzable as

/dɨg-/	'quality of
and /-yõ/	'a greater degree of'

2.2.3.2.2. Secondary Derived Stems:

These are the stems composed of one simple stems and one or more suffixes.

(i) The suffix /-yŏ/ derives comparative adjectives denoting a greater degree of the quality.

/draṅyŏ/	'bigger'

(ii) The prefix /hálɨ-/, a bound variant of the numeral /hálaṅ/ 'ten' derives the numerals eleven to nineteen by combining with the numerals from 'one' to 'nine'.

/hálɨkhíṅ/	'eleven'
/hálɨkàyíṅ/	'tweleve'
/hálɨkàsàṅ/	'thirteen'
/hálɨkàprayk/	'fourteen'
/hálɨmáṅa/	'fifteen'
/hálɨtahro/	'sixteen'
/hálɨwẽ/	'seventeen'
/hálɨlɨm/	'eighteen'
/hálɨkɨnyâṅ/	'nineteen'

(iii) The suffix /-ge/, a bound variant of /khíṅ/ 'one' derives specified numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand'.

/malam-ge/	'one hundred'
/rázaṅ-ge/	'one thousand'

(iv) The suffix /-jyim/ derives ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers.

/kɨnyâṅjyim/ nine	'ninth'
/máṅajyim/ five	'fifth'

/malamjyim/ hundred	'hundredth'

2.2.3.2.3. Compound Stems:

All other numerical stems derived from simple and secondary derived stems by compounding in different orders.

(i) Multiples of ten are derived by compounding together the multiplier and 'ten'.

/kàsàṅhálaṅ/ three-ten	'thirty'
/máṅahálaṅ/ five-ten	'fifty'
/lɨmhálaṅ/ eight-ten	'eighty'

(ii) Multiples of hundred and thousand are derived by compounding together the numeral hundred or thousand and the multiplier.

/malamkàprayk/ hundred-four	'four hundred'
/malamwẽ/ hundred-eight	'eight hundred'
/rázaṅmáṅa/ thousand-five	'five thousand'

(iii) All other numerals are derived by combining the terms for thousands, the term for hundreds, the term for tens (where it is more than 'nineteen') and the term for units in the same order.

/malamgehálɨmáṅa/ hundred-one-ten-five	'one hundred and fifteen'

/kàsàṅháláṅwẽ/ 'thirtyeight'
three-ten-eight

/rázaṅ-ge-malam-kɨnyâṅ-wẽ-hálaṅ-tahro/ '1976'
thousand-one-hundred-nine-seven-ten-six

/rázaṅ-ge-malam-lɨm-hálɨmáṅa/ '1815'
thousand-one-hundred-eight-ten-five

2.2.4. Adverb:

2.2.4.1. Adverbs contain all such words that modify a verb. The place of adverbs in a syntactic construction is not restricted. The adverbs are mainly of three types.

(i) Spatial Adverbs:

Adverbs which specify the spatial orientation of the event or action.

/ámàgõ/	'here'
/kàdyùgʊ̃/	'in the corner'
/hayʊ́gʊ̃/	'before'

(ii) Temporal Adverbs:

Adverbs which specify the temporal orientation of the event or action.

/bíyàgʊ̃/	'before
/háwãgõ/	'later'
/búge/	'sometimes'
/mátyù/	'soon'

(iii) Manner Adverbs:

Adverbs which specify the manner of performance of the action or occurrence of the event.

/dùka/	'sadly'

/kadɨ́tyaṅ/	'neatly'
/tamétyaṅ/	'madly'
/búpá/	'suddenly'

2.2.4.2. Structure of an Adverb:

Adverbs, in Mishmi, are derived from other classes. An adverb contains a stem or a bound morpheme and an adverbializing suffix. The structure shows only the inner layer of stem formation and centers on the morphological processes that modify the semantic content of the stems to form stems of varying complexity. The study of the structure fails to show any simple adverb stems.

2.2.4.2.1. Primary Derived Stems:

These are the polymorphemic stems consisting of two bound morphemes. The structure is parallel to the case inflexion of nouns, specifically, the spatio-temporal inflexions. Hence the first part of the stem may be considered on par with a noun but without free-occurrence.

/ya-gõ/	'across'

Other stems are analyzable into bound morphemes but the individual morphemes cannot be assigned any class membership.

/bú-dõ/	'again'
/bú-pá/	'suddenly'
/bú-ge/	'sometimes'
/bú-tyù/	'sometimes'

/má-tyù/	'soon'
/íṅ-dő̀/	'more'

2.2.4.2.2. Secondary Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems derived from simple stems by suffixing an adverbializer or a case marker. The simple stem is either a noun or an adjective.

2.2.4.2.2.1. Derivatives from Adjectives:

The derivative suffixes are /-jyim/, /-tyàṅ/, /-a/ and /-∅/. The first two are in free variation in most cases. In the examples given below, the structure is read as adjective-adverbializer.

/kapá-tyàṅ/	'alone, lonely'
/kadɨ́tyàṅ/	'neatly'
/kadɨ́-jyim/	'neatly'
/miẽ-tyàṅ/	'newly'
/miẽ-jyim/	'newly'
/bɨyõ-jyim/	'innocently'
/tamé-tyàṅ/	'madly'
/tamé-jyim/	'madly'
/dùk-a/	'sadly, unhappily'
/táwè-a/	'conscienciously'
/ásaṅ-∅/	'freshly'
/prà-∅/	'good, well'

2.2.4.2.2.2. Derivatives from Nouns:

All locative Noun Phrases function as adverbials in sentences.

/bíyàgõ/	'before'
/háwãgõ/	'lately'
/ámàgõ/	'here'
/kàdyùgõ/	'in the corner'
/kapìkyã̀/	'in winter'

2.2.4.2.3. Compound Stems:

These are partially or totally reduplicated primary derived stems. Total reduplication often serves as intensification.

/bútyù/	'sometimes'
/bútyùbútyù/	'occasionally'
/búbútyù/	'occasionally'
/búge/	'sometimes'
/búgebúge/	'often'
/búbúge/	'often'
/bíyàgõ/	'before'
/bíyàbíyàgõ/	'once upon a time, long ago'

2.2.4.3. Sentences as Adverbs:

Some syntactic constructions are commonly used in simple sentences as adverbials. The construction is of the type Int.Pron. Adj. be Neg.

/jya kánám àym/ 'mercilessly'
which mercy be-Neg

2.3. Intensifier

As a class, intensifiers contain all the words that modify an adjective or an adverb. The study of these words reveals no structural layers. The structure centers on stem morphemes and the morphological process that modifies stems to produce intensification.

2.3.1. Simple Stems:

These are monomorphemic stems with no analyzable inner structure. They always follow the adjectives and are adjective-specific, i.e., the selection of the intensifier depends upon the choice of the adjective.

/(zɤ́) haglɨma/	'very (cold)'
/(thayg) marayga/	'very (hot)'
/(tháyg) grag/	'very (poisonous)'
/(syap) kahlega/	'very (sweet)'
/(prà) madaṅ/	'very (good)'

2.3.2. Reduplication:

The adjective and the adverb stems are often reduplicated to bring about intensification.

(i) Adjectives are totally reduplicated.

/draṅ draṅ/	'very big'

(ii) Adverbs may be reduplicated totally or partially. In partial reduplication, it is often the adverbializer that is not repeated.

/bíyàgɤ/	'before'
/bíyàbíyàgɤ/	'long ago, once upon a time'

2.3.3. Sentences as Intensifiers:

The syntactic construction /àlyayɨ̀m/ 'incomparably' is often used as an intensifier with adjectives and adverbs. The construction is analyzable as /à - lya - yɨ̀m/ 'be - par - not' and always precedes the modified adjective or adverb. With adjectives, it occurs only when a simple intensifier stem is present.

/àlyayɨ̀m^{1} tháyg^{2} grag^{3}/
'very^{3} highly^{1} poisonous^{2}'

With adjectives that do not have lexical intensifiers and the adverbs, it occurs alone.

/àlyayɨ̀m dranំ/ 'very big'
incomparably big

2.4. Particles

The particles belong to a small closed set of words which are morphologically invariable and do not enter into true syntactic constructions with other syntactic components. They either stand apart like exclamations or relate events in discourse like the coordinators.

/la/	'vocative'
/wembe/	'or'
/takhru/	'though'
/wewe/	'so'
/kya/	'interrogative'
/ma/	'one of a pair (reciprocal)'

/mu/	'one out of many (conjunctive)'
/àm/	'yes'

2.5. Verb

2.5.1. Nature of Verbs:

A verb, in Mishmi, is defined as any word that has been inflected for tense and mood. It is present in all but a few sentences which have a nominal predicate. The citation forms of the verbs occur with the suffix /-yà/.

/hanáyà/	'to come'
/bóyà/	'to go'
/hwéyà/	'to see '

The verbs occur as predicates and form an open set of words comprising terms referring to actions, states and processes discussed in detail in section 2.5.2.2.

2.5.2. Classification of Verbs:

2.5.2.1. Transitivity:

Syntactically, verbs, in Mishmi, are identified lexically for transitivity by the number of arguments that are present in the sentence. Thus we get a four-way classification of verbs taking into consideration the subject, the object and the dative object.

2.5.2.1.1. Ambient Verbs:

These require neither a subject nor an object. The verbs indicate a total environment without referring to anything specific within the environment. The sentence with such a verb is nothing but just a predication. The subject, even if present, is an empty subject.

/kara-/	'to rain'
/wɨ́ygẽ́-/	'to eddy (as a whirlpool)'
/atí-/	'to fall (as hailstones)'
/ablɨg-/	'to flash (as lightning)'

2.5.2.1.2. Intransitive Verbs:

These require only a subject.

/wíṅ-/	'to bark'
/íṅ-/	'to sleep'
/lẽ-/	'to shine'
/bó-/	'to go'

2.5.2.1.3. Transitive Verbs:

These require a subject and an object.

/thá-/	'to eat'
/hwẽ́-/	'to see'
/maró-/	'to speak'

2.5.2.1.4. Recipient-Transitive Verbs:

These require a subject, an object and a dative object, i.e., a dative Noun Phrase whose case role is recipient.

/hakẽ-/	'to show'
/haṅ-/	'to give'
/tú-/	'to sell'

Semantically the above classification can be described in terms of the number of arguments or cases that the verbs intrinsically require. The ambient verbs require only the predication and no arguments. The intransitive verbs require only one argument - either an agent, an experiencer, an executor or an object. The transitive verbs require two arguments - an agent or an executor and an object. The recipient transitive verbs require three arguments - an agent or an executor, an object and a recipient goal. Exemples are given below in the order of description.

(65) /bilyáṅgŏ^1 karaso^2/
Loc [T]
'(it) rained^2 yesterday^1'

(66) /táphrakŏ^1 wɨ́ygĕ́à^2/
Loc [P]
'(there is) a whirlpool^2 in the river^1'

(67) /ablɨgà/
'the lightning flashed'

(68) /ámàgõ^1 atíà^2/
Loc [P]
'(there) is a hail storm^2 here^1'

(69) /kwág^1 wíṅà^2/
Nom [A]
'the dog^1 barks^2'

(70) /ríṅ^1 lĕ̀a^2/ 'the Sun^1 shines^2'
Nom [A]

(71) /hã́^{1} parŏ̀^{2} íṅso/
Nom [Exp]
'my^{1} friend^{2} slept^{3}'

(72) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháde^{3}/
Nom [A] Acc [O]
'I^{1} eat^{3} rice^{2}'

(73) /támyâ^{1} tabróchŏ̀^{2} hwẽ́liyà^{3}/
Nom [A] Acc [O]
'the tiger^{1} saw^{3} the hunter^{2}'

(74) /jyimcyane^{1} mèdŏ̀^{2} taméyìn^{3} hakẽso^{4}/
Nom [A] Dat [G] Acc [O]
'Jimchane^{1} showed^{4} the man^{2} an elephant^{3}'

(75) /jyábmalù^{1} jyimcyanedŏ̀^{2} tára^{3} haṅso^{4}/
Nom [A] Dat [R] Acc [O]
'Jabmalu^{1} gave^{4} a sword^{3} to Jimchane^{2}'

It may be necessary and worthwhile to compare the dative object with the sentences with the dative location sentences --

(76) /hã́^{1} áṅ^{2} bóliyà^{3}/
Nom Dat
'I^{1} went^{3} home^{2}'

-- where the verb is intransitive. A point to be mentioned here is that the behaviour of the dative object is distinctive in that it cannot be topicalized like the accusative object.

Apart from the four arguments considered above, the verbs can also take other arguments like the instrument, place, source, time, etc.

However, it is not necessary that all arguments should overtly be present in the sentence. Sometimes the arguments can form part of the semantic content of the verb. This gives rise to the phenomenon of what we called here 'Argument-inclusive Verbs'. The included arguments usually refer to specific objects or beings instead of members of a group as in English verbs like, 'kick', 'bite', 'sting', etc.

(1) Subject-Inclusive Verbs:

/wíṅ-/	'to bark (as a dog)'
/hró-/	'to bark (as a deer)'
/thág-/	'to bite (as a dog)'
/chè-/	'to bite (as a fish)'
/pì-/	'to bite (as a snake)'
/háàṅ-/	'to ripen (as fruit)'
/hamɨ́ṅ-/	'to ripen (as paddy)'
/tabró-/	'to molt (as a snake)'

(2) Object-Inclusive Verbs:

/tyù-/	'to break (a stick)'
/phrẽ-/	'to break (a thread)'
/tyùká-/	'to break (coconut/glass), to shatter'
/cúm-/	'to blow (air)'
/maṅ-/	'to blow (nose)'
/né-/	'to wear (ornaments)'
/kig-/	'to wear (clothes)'
/síṅ-/	'to wear (shoes)'

/tín-/	'to wear (clothes)'

(3) Instrument-Inclusive Verbs:

/kwag-/	'to hit (with hand)'
/aba-/	'to hit (with a weapon)'
/pi-/	'to cut (with an axe or a tusk, as an elephant does)'

(4) Place-Inclusive Verbs:

/bâ-/	'to carry (as a child)'
/kawɨ́-/	'to carry (as a spear)'
/pag-/	'to carry (piggyback)'
/glág-/	'to carry (on head)'

(5) Path-Inclusive Verbs:

/pâ-/	'to cross (on a bridge)'

2.5.2.2. Semantic Classification:

It is necessary to classify the verbs semantically since we draw upon these semantic characteristics to describe the morpho-syntactic behaviour of the verbs.

2.5.2.2.1. States:

A state is one conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being continuous and unchanging throughout its duration. They are specified as a condition, emotion, attribute or a quality. The verbs require an experiencer or an object as the subject.

(i) Existential Verb:

There is only one such verb which specifies the existence of or belongingness to the subject, entity or being.

/í-/	'to be/to have'

(ii) Ambient State Verbs:

These are states which represent a total environment in themselves without the need to refer to any being or entity within the environment.

/júwã̀-/	'to be cold'
/thayga-/	'to be hot'

(iii) Qualitative State Verbs:

These are states which specify the innate qualities or attributes.

/prà-/	'to be good'
/syî-/	'to be fair in complexion'
/lyô-/	'to be white'

(iv) Sensory State Verbs:

These are states specified as mental or physiological that can be experienced or perceived only by the speaker.

/nyò-/	'to ache'
/masyẽ̀tyó-/	'to be hungry'
/dùka-/	'to be sad'
/heló-/	'to be happy'

(v) Cognitive State Verbs:

These are psychological states which represent the emotional relationships or perceptual abilities.

/kasà-/	'to know'
/rŏ̀sya-/	'to long for/to covet'
/rúga-/	'to love'
/kapɨ́g-/	'to hate'
/kasyàyín-/	'to pity'
/yámú-/	'to dream'
/wé-/	'to think'

2.5.2.2.2. Processes:

A process is a change of state happening over a span of time. It is one conceived of as happening during which the object undergoes a metamorphosis. These verbs require an object as subject.

/grúwà-/	'to burn'
/grú-/	'to go out (as fire), to burn out'
/háramga-/	'to assemble'
/akẽ́-/	'to appear'
/piw-/	'to bloom'

It is necessary to distinguish, within these, terminal verbs. They are verbs which are specified as the end of an event or a process.

/syẽ-/	'to die'
/khí-/	'to reach'
/mɨ-/	'to be born'
/hári-/	'to fall off'
/lâ-/	'to fall down'

2.5.2.2.3. Actions:

The verb is specified as an action, something which someone does or something that gets done by itself without the aid of any external agency or stimuli. These verbs require an agent or an executor as subject or do not need any subject at all. Different kinds of actions have to be set up to bring the inflexional behaviour of the verbs into perspective.

(i) Ambient Actions:

These are actions conceived of as happening by themselves without assigning any agent within the environment they represent.

/kara-/	'to rain'
/bóra-/	'to thunder'
/atí-/	'to rain hail-stones'
/arő-/	'to snow'
/ablɨg-/	'to flash (as lightning)'

(ii) Motion Actions:

These are actions in the course of which there is a spatial displacement executed usually by the agent of itself or another entity in the environment.

/haná-/	'to come'
/bó-/	'to go'
/chyíg-/	'to walk'
/chyáb-/	'to run'
/paté-/	'to swim'

(iii) Sensory Actions:

These are non-physical actions executed by the agent through his sense organs.

/hwě́-/	'to see'
/íṅ-/	'to sleep'
/thraṅ-/	'to listen'
/mạró-/	'to speak'
/hakẽ-/	'to show'
/nâṅ-/	'to smell'

(iv) Actions:

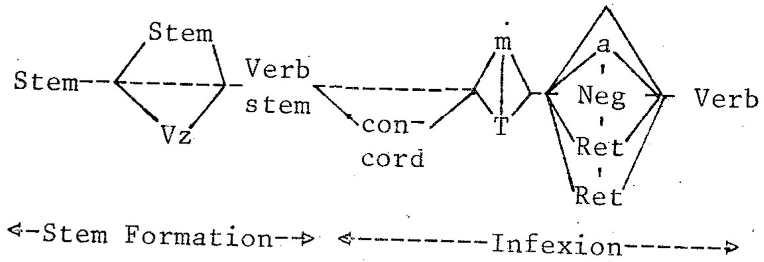
These are physical activies executed by the agent.

/syé-/	'to kill'
/lákõ-/	'to destroy'
/hɨlâ-/	'to hit'
/pɨ́-/	'to kick'
/thá-/	'to eat'
/wíṅ-/	'to bark'
/dú-/	'to jump'
/gɨlɨm-/	'to kneel'

2.5.3. Structure of Verbs:

A verb, in Mishmi, consists of a stem or a combination of stems followed by various suffixes. The suffixes are a verbalizer, a concord marker, a mood marker, an aspect marker, a negativizer and primary and secondary reportive markers. The structure is illustrated in 2.5.3.A.

2.5.3.A.



The formation can follow along any of the paths, but always towards the right. However, change of levels is unrestricted.

Cooccurrence Restrictions:

(1) Mood and aspect are mutually exclusive.

(2) Inflexion of the verb for tense and/or mood is obligatory.

(3) Aspect inflexion presupposes tense inflexion.

(4) The negative suffix can occur twice.

(5) The secondary reportive suffix occurs only when the verb already has the primary reportive suffix and occurs to the left of it

(6) Stem compounds do not take a verbalizer.

The Mishmi verb formation reveals two structural layers. Each is characterized by specific morphological processes with different functions.

2.5.3.1. Stem Formation - Inner Structure of Verbs:

The inner structure of verbs centers on simple stems and the morphological processes that may modify such stems to form stems of varying complexity. The morphological processes attested in stem formation are suffixation and compounding. These processes modify the semantic content of the stems. There are three broad classes of verb stems.

2.5.3.1.1. Simple Stems:

These are monomorphemic stems that can be said to have no analyzable inner structure.

/thá-/	'to eat'
/í-/	'to be'
/bó-/	'to go'
/haná-/	'to come'

2.5.3.1.2. Derived Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems consisting of one simple stem and a derivative suffix. The derivative suffix may occasionally be /-∅/. The simple stem can be a noun, an adjective or another verb.

(i) /-∅/ derives verbs from nouns and adjectives of colours and qualities. The verbs are intransitive.

/syî-/	'to be fair'
/lyô-/	'to be white'
/prà-/	'to be good'

(ii) /-wé/ derives verbs from adjectives of qualities. These verbs are intransitive but have an agent as subject.

/pràwé-/	'to do good, to like'
/helówé-/	'to make (someone) happy'
/dùkawé-/	'to make (someone) sad'

(iii) /-tyu/ derives reflexive verbs from cognitive and transitive action verbs. The derived verbs signify that the subject is the agent as well as the experiencer of the action. The reflexive can be either suffixed or prefixed to the verb.

/syétyu-/	'to kill oneself'
/tyusyé-/	'to kill oneself'
/rúgatyu-/	'to love oneself'
/hwẽ́tyu-/	'to see oneself'

(iv) /-tha/ derives alter-reflexive verbs from the reflexive verbs. These verbs signify that the subject of the verb is the experiencer and the object but not the agent. The agent does not overtly occur in the sentence except when it is a topicalized nominal. The marker is suffixed to the verb and the order of formation is verb-alter-reflexive-reflexive. The order is rigidly maintained.

/laṅthatyu-/	'to enter'
/abayàthatyu-/	'to strike (oneself by an external agent)'

The phenomenon is akin to that Pāṇini posits: 'karmakartṛvācya'.

/ōdanam^{1} pacati^{2}/	*'the rice^{1} cooks^{2}' (itself but the cooking involves an agent)*

2.5.3.1.3. Compound Stems:

These are polymorphemic stems whose constituent morphemes are by themselves simple stems. The first constituent can either be a noun or a verb. The second is always a noun.

/kambà-/ work-do	'to work'
/mèsyé-/ man-kill	'to murder'
/hanábó-/ come-go	'to return'

These are treated as compounds instead of phrases primarily because -

(i) There can always be and usually is an object NP different from the noun in the compound in the sentence.

(77) /taya$\dot{n}^{1}$ cyá míyà^{2} mèsyéliyà^{3}/
Nom Acc
'Tayang^{1} murdered^{3} his wife^{2}'
Lit: Tayang man-killed his wife.

(ii) The interword pause does not occur between the constituents of the compound.

(iii) Adverbs, which have complete freedom of position of occurrence, do not occur between the constituents of a compound verb.

(78) /hã́^{1} jyatáwèàym^{2} tayaṅ^{3} mèsyéliyà^{4}/
Nom Adv Acc man-kill-RemP
'I^{1} killed^{4} Tayang^{3} mercilessly^{2}'

If the adverb position is altered, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. 78a is grammatical but 78b is not.

(78a) /hã́^{1} tayaṅ^{2} jyatáwèàym^{3} mèsyéliyà^{4}/
'I^{1} killed^{4} Tayang^{2} mercilessly^{3}'

(78b) */hã́ tayaṅ mè jyatáwèàym syéliyà/
I-Nom Acc man Adv kill-RemP

(iv) The morphophonemic rules that operate at the intermorphemic boundaries in compounds are the same as those that operate on derived stems and inflected stems.

(v) At the syntactic level, equi-NP-deletion rules do not operate on the noun constituent of the compounds.

2.5.3.2. Inflexion - Outer Structure of Verbs:

The stems described in the previous section may, in turn, be modified, by various morphological processes, to produce inflected forms, adding to the stem, notions of tense, mood, aspect, person, etc., without basically modifying their semantic content. The person and number are not verbal categories, but are termed concord, in what can be explained as the reflexion of the number and person of the subject noun or noun phrase in the verb. The morphological processes attested in the inflexion of verbs are suffixation, compounding, etc.

With most full verbs, basic paradigms of thirtyeight pairs of forms can be established. The second member in each pair is the negative counterpart of the first.

Paradigm of the verb /thá-/ 'to eat'

1)	thá-ne	thá-lɨ̀m
	(I) shall eat	
2)	thá-rẽ-ke	thá-rẽ-ke-yɨ̀m
	(we) shall eat	
3)	thá-yà	thá-yà-yɨ̀m
	(you-sg) will eat	
4)	thá-rẽ-yà	thá-rẽ-yà-yɨ̀m
	(you-pl) will eat	
5)	thá-bìn	thá-bì-lɨ̀m
	(he/she/it) will eat	
6)	thá-biya	thá-biya-yɨ̀m
	(he/she/it) will eat	
7)	thá-rẽ-bìn	thá-rẽ-bì-lɨ̀m
	(they) shall eat	
8)	thá-ne-bɨrɨ	thá-lɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
	(I) shall be eating	
9)	thá-rẽ-ke-bɨrɨ	thá-rẽ-ke-yɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
	(we) shall be eating	
10)	thá-yà-bɨri	thá-yà-yɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
	(you-sg) will be eating	
11)	thá-rẽ-yà-bɨrɨ	thá-rẽ-yà-yɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
	(you-pl) will be eating	
12)	thá-bìn-bɨrɨ	thá-bì-lɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
	(he/she/it) will be eating	

13)	thá-rĕ-bìṅ-bɨrɨ (they) will be eating	thá-rĕ-bì-lɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
14)	thá-de (I/we/you) shall eat (just now)	thá-dɨ̀m
15)	thá-à (he/she/it/they) will eat (just now)	thá-à-yɨ̀m
16)	thá-de-bɨrɨ (I/we/you) am/are eating	thá-dɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
17)	thá-à-bɨrɨ (he/they) is/are eating	thá-à-yɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
18)	thá-so ate (just now)	thá-so-yɨ̀m
19)	thá-so-bɨrɨ was/were eating	thá-so-yɨ̀m-bɨrɨ
20)	thá-liyà ate (long ago)	thá-liyà-yɨ̀m
21)	thá-paṅà ate (completed)	thá-paṅ-yɨ̀m
22)	thá-daṅà ate (completed)	thá-daṅ-yɨ̀m
23)	thá-paṅdaṅà ate (completed)	thá-paṅdaṅ-yɨ̀m
24)	thá-ná eat (order) (sg)	thá-yá
25)	thá-rĕ-ná eat (order) (pl)	thá-rĕ-yá
26)	thá-haṇéyà can eat	thá-hanéyà-yɨ̀m
27)	thá-dɨga should eat	thá-dɨga-yɨ̀m
28)	thá-bóm may eat	thá-bôm(sya)
29)	thá-gâ-de let (us) eat	thá-gâ-dɨ̀m

30) thá-pɨy-ne thá-lɨ̀m-pɨy-ne
will(persist to) eat

31) thá-yɤ-ke thá-ɨ̀m-yɤ-ke
will (certainly) eat

32) thá-kɤ-li thá-kɤ-lɨ̀m
will (certainly) eat

33) thá-syig-so thá-syig-so-yɨ̀m
(was allowed to) eat

34) thá-ge thá-ge-yɨ̀m
(came/went and) ate

35) thá-de-bo thá-dɨ̀m-bo
caused (by someone) to eat

36) thá-syiga thá-syiga-yɨ̀m
caused (someone) to eat

37) thá-ma-de thá-ma-dɨ̀m
will keep on eating

38) thá-ma-so thá-ma-so-yɨ̀m
kept on eating

There are two important characteristics of these forms that justify their treatment in this fashion.

(1) They are a closed set.

(2) Each form in the paradigm is essentially a whole. They cannot be sub-divided or analyzed either formally or semantically in terms of individual forms of which they are composed, except in the morphological description of these forms. The thirtyeight pairs in the basic paradigm can be divided into sets in different ways, each division being in terms of a formal feature which is linked to a semantic one.

The paradigm also consists of some non-inflexional features like causation, report and movement. These will be explained separately in the subsequent sections.

2.5.3.2.1. Tense:

Mishmi shows a four-way tense system. The apposition is between past and future with an immediate and non-immediate distinction made for each. Each tense is marked by a distinct suffix. Semantically it is the temporal orientation of the event. Taking the time of the speaker's utterance as reference, whatever happened before that is termed past and whatever will happen after that is termed future. Immediate and non-immediate indicate the relative time lag between the event and the utterance. This time lag is rather abstract in the sense that there is no clearcut demarcation of the boundary between the two. It is more of the speaker's attitude towards the event rather than the actual interval that elapsed after the event is over and the speaker talks of it.

The four-way tense system is not uniform throughout the verbal inflexion. The tense distinctions vary when they are associated with various aspects and will be discussed along with those aspects. The state verbs and non-terminal process verbs show a three way tense inflexion of past, present and future.

(i) Recent Past:

When the speaker speaks of an event which took place prior to the utterance, but neither resulted nor was followed by another event, the verbal inflexion is for recent past regardless of the time that might have elapsed after the event. However, there is a natural limit on the time lag, since one cannot conceive of a very long interval of time without any happening, action or event. The inflexion is marked by the suffix /-so/.

(79) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháso^{3}/
'I^{1} ate^{3} rice^{2}'

This sentence would entail that the event occurred just prior to the utterance and no other event intervenes. That is, an implicated sentence like (79a) is ungrammatical because the first clause cannot have the second clause as an entailment.

(79a) */cyáwè^{1} tamyâ^{2} syéyàgɤ^{3} hɨbáṅ^{4} bóso^{5}/
'he^{1} went^{5} to the forest^{4} and the tiger^{2} killed^{3} (him)'

where the second clause is a direct consequence of the first. The sentence should read as

(79b) /cyáwè^{1} tamyâ^{2} syéyàgɤ^{3} hɨbáṅ^{4}
bóliyà^{5}/

(ii) Remote Past:

When the utterance specifies an event which occurred and was followed by other events which need not necessarily be a consequence of the first event, the verb takes the remote past inflexion marked by the suffix /-liyà/.

(80) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháliyà^3/
'I^1 ate^3 rice^2'

It usually signifies a lapse of a fairly long interval of time between the happening of the event and the utterance. This inflexion does not usually occur with adverbs of very recent time as in, say,

(81) */hã́^{1} tyagõ^2 tapẽ́^{3} tháliyà^4/
'I^1 ate^4 rice^3 just now^2'

unless the speaker intends to implicate another action as a consequence like in the sentence (79b). The exclusive use of remote past in implicative sentences seems to be one essential difference in the two past tenses.

(iii) Immediate Future:

When the speaker expects the event to follow the utterance without the intervention of any other event or without any time lag, the verb takes the inflexion for immediate future. It is marked by two suffixes whose distribution is determined by the subject in the sentence.

/-à/ occurs with third person subjects.

(82) /cyá^1 tháà^2/
'he^1 will eat^2'

(83) /taméyìṅ^1 ablaṅ^2 píà^3/
'the elephant^1 will break^3 the banana trees^2'

/-de/ occurs with non-third person subjects.

(84) /hã́^{1} tháde^2/
'I^1 shall eat^2'

(85) /nyú^1 jyím^2 maróde^3/
'you^1 will tell^3 truth^2'

(86) /níṅ^1 táṅa^2 róde^3/
'we^1 shall catch^3 fish^2'

(iv) Distant Future:

This tense is used in sequences where the time at which the event is expected to take place is vague or when the event is not likely to follow whatever action is taking place right then. It is marked by five suffixes whose distribution is determined by two factors: the subject of the sentence and the mood of the verb.

/-li/ occurs with –

(a) The definitive mood:

(87) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thákõli^3/
eat-Def-DF

'I^1 shall certainly eat^3 rice^2'

(88) /wé^1 é^2 kam^3 syakõli^4/
'he^1 will certainly do^4 this^2 work^3'

(b) The negative suffix:

(89) /hã́^{1} thálɨ̀m^2/
eat-DF-Neg
'I^1 shall not eat^2'

(90) /jyimcyane^1 hɨbáṅ^2 bólɨ̀m^3/
'Jimchane^1 will not go^3 to the forest^2'

It is not conditioned by the person, number and gender of the subject. In all other cases, the distant future is realized as

/-ne/ when the subject is first person singular;

(91) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháne^3/
'I^1 shall eat^3 rice^2'

(92) /hã́^{1} kalyáp^2 bóne^3/
'I^1 shall go^3 to the field^2'

/-ke/ when the subject is first person plural;

(93) /níṅ^1 tapẽ́^{2} thárẽke^3/
eat-Pl-DF
'we^1 shall eat^3 rice^2'

(94) /níṅ^1 tejyab^2 bórẽke^3/
'we^1 shall go^3 to Tezu^2'

/-yà/ when the subject is second person;

(95) /nyú^{1} áṅ^{2} hanáyà^{3}/
come-DF
'you^{1} will come^{3} home^{2}'

(96) /ánè^{1} jyím^{2} maróyà^{3}/
'you^{1} shall tell^{3} the truth^{2}'

/-bìṅ/ and /-biya/ when the subject is third person. These suffixes are in free variation.

(97a) /wé^{1} áṅ^{2} bóbìṅ^{3}/
'he^{1} will go^{3} home^{2}'

(97b) /wé^{1} áṅ^{2} bóbiya^{3}/
go-DF
'he^{1} will go^{3} home^{2}'

A different system of tense distinctions operates for a subset of verbs. The verbs in question, the cognitive, sensory, existential and ambient states, do not exhibit a four way tense distinction, but a three way one for past-present-future apposition without the corresponding continuous aspect inflexion.

(v) Past tense is marked by the suffix /-so/:

(98) /jyimcyanewè^{1} jyím^{2} kasàso^{3}/
'Jimchane^{1} knew^{3} the truth^{2}'

(99) /jyimcyanewè^{1} bɨ́rõyã́^{2} rúgaso^{3}/
'Jimchane^{1} loved^{3} the niaid^{2}'

(100) /bíyàbíyàgõ̆^{1} jyábmalù^{2} helóso^{3}/
'long ago^{1} Jabmälu^{2} was happy^{3}'

(vi) Present tense is marked by suffixes which are governed by concord restrictions:

/-de/ occurs with non-third person subjects.

(101) /hã́wè^{1} dáyktɨ́kɨ̂^{2} kasàde^{3}/
'I^{1} know^{3} the Mishmi language^{2}'

(102) /nyúwè^{1} é^{2} míyààa^{3} rúgade^{4}/
'you^{1} love^{4} this^{2} girl^{3}'

(103) /hã́wè^{1} masyẽ̀tyóde^{2}/
'I^{1} am hungry^{2}'

(104) /nińwè^{1} syîde^{2}/
'we^{1} are fair^{2}'

(105) /ánèwè^{1} pràde^{2}/
'you^{1} are good^{2}'

/-yà/ occurs with third person subjects.

(106) /cyáwè^{1} hã̆^{2} áyã̆^{3} rúgayà^{4}/
'he^{1} loves^{4} my^{2} daughter^{3}'

(107) /macyígwè^{1} thaygayà^{2}/
'the water^{1} is hot^{2}'

(108) /jyimcyanewè^{1} dùkayà^{2}/
'Jimchane^{1} is sad^{2}'

The existential verb has a different tense distribution. The above suffixes occur only when the subject is human.

(109) /hã́wè^{1} masáṅzàk^{2} íde^{3}/
'I^{1} am^{3} in the tree^{2}'

(110) /nyúwè^{1} kalyápzàk^{2} íde^{3}/
'you^{1} are^{3} in the field^{2}'

(111) /jyimcyanewè^{1} áṅû^{2} íyà^{3}/
'Jimchane^{1} is^{3} at home^{2}'

Non-human subjects are associated with a syncretic form /-à/ of the verb and the tense suffix.

(112) /kathíṅwè hɨbáṅkwẽ́^{2} à^{3}/
'the ant^{1} is^{3} in the forest^{2}'

(113) /taméìṅwè^{1} ámàgõ^{2} à^{3}/
'the elephant^{1} is^{3} here^{2}'

(114) /kitabwè^{1} phlã́kwẽ́^{2} à^{3}/
'the book^{1} is^{3} in the bag^{2}'

(vii) Future tense is marked by the suffixes

/-ne/ when the subject is first person singular pronominal;

(115) /hã́wè^{1} hrɨgne^{2}/
'I shall be startled^{2}'

(116) /hã́wè^{1} ásiṅgõ^{2} nyútyu^{3} rúgane^{4}/
'I^{1} shall love^{4} only you^{3} in my life^{2}'

(117) /hã́wè^{1} bútyù^{2} jyím^{3} kasàne^{4}/
'sometime^{2} I^{1} shall learn^{4} the truth^{3}'

/-ke/ when the subject is first person plural pronominal;

(118) /níṅwè^1 khɨmyõ̆rẽ̆ke^2/
'we^1 shall be angry^2'

(119) /níṅwè^1 mátyù^2 kasàrẽ̆ke^3/
'we^1 shall know^3 soon^2'

/-ya/ when the subject is second person;

(120) /nyúwè^1 ásiṅû^2 helóyà^3/
'you^1 will be happy^3 in life^2'

(121) /ánèwè^1 dùkarẽ̆yà^2/
'you^1 will be unhappy^2'

(122) /ánèwè^1 mlâzàk^2 íyà^3/
'you^1 will be^3 in the village^2'

/-bìṅ/ and /-biya/ when the subject is third person.

(123) /jyimcyanewè^1 kadigõ̆^{2} dùkabiyayɨ̀m^3/
'Jimchane^1 will never be sad (will
not be sad^3 ever^2)'

(124) /cyáwè^1 mátyù^2 kasàbiya^3/
'he^1 will know^3 soon^2.'

(125) /cyálàṅwè^1 chintɨ́kɨ̂^{2} rúgabìṅ^3/
'they^1 will love^3 Chinese^2'

Sentence (125) occurs as part of an implicated sentence.

(126) /níṅ^{1} ásiṅû^{2} dùkabiyɨ̀m^{3}/
'(there) will be no sadness^{3} in our^{1} lives^{2}'

The existential verb /í-/ has a /-0/ allomorph in the future inflexion.

(viii) Very often, in folk tales, where events are not temporally relative, the verbs are used with a special inflexion which is neutral as to time, i.e., it does not specify the event as either past, present or future. The suffix is /-yà/ and is not to be confused with the other verbalizing suffix that occurs with the citation forms. Thus, we find a sentence like

(127) /kathíṅ^{1} khɨmyʊ̃yàgʊ̃^{2} páhwã^{3} thágyà^{4}/
'the ant^{1}, angered^{2}, bit^{4} the frog^{3}'

where the sentence should have contained a verb complex with a past tense inflexion. The same sentence, in ordinary speech, would read like

(128) /kathíṅ^{1} khɨmyʊ̃yàgʊ̃^{2} páhwã^{3} thágso^{4}/

2.5.3.2.2. Aspect:

Aspect indicates the temporal distribution of the action. Irrespective of the temporal reference, it shows the state of the event at the time referred to. There are three aspects in Mishmi.

2.5.3.2.2.1. Habitual:

A habitual event is one which

(i) happens with a predictable regularity; or

(ii) the speaker expects to happen as a matter of course; or

(iii) is a natural characteristic of the being the speaker refers to.

The habitual has no tense distinction and is expressed by the immediate future suffixes. Cognitive, existential and qualitative states cannot take this inflexion. The concord restrictions are identical to that of immediate future formation.

/-à/ occurs when the subject is non-pronominal or is in third person.

(129) /wé^1 tapé̆^{2} tháà^3/
'he^1 eats^3 food^2'

(130) /ríṅ^1 lĕà^2/
'the Sun^1 shines^2'

(131) /kwág^1 wíṅà^2/
'the dog^1 barks^2'

/-de/ occurs elsewhere.

(132) /hắ^1 táṅa^2 róde^3/
'I^1 catch^3 fish^2'

(133) /nyú^1 tapé̆^{2} tháde^3/
'you^1 eat^3 food^2'

(134) /nín^{1} tejyab^{2} bóde^{3}/
'we^{1} go^{3} to Tezu^{2}'

(135) /ánè^{1} masáṅsyígwèlàṅ^{2} katɨ́gharɨmde^{3}/
'you^{1} collect^{3} fruit^{2}'

2.5.3.2.2.2. Continuous:

The continuous aspect indicates that the event or action is in the course of happening at the time referred to by the speaker. This aspect is associated with a three-way tense apposition, viz., past, present and future. This aspect is restricted to action and process verbs and is marked by the suffix /-bɨrɨ/.

(i) The past continuous is realized from the recent past.

(136) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásobɨrɨ^{3}/
/'I^{1} was eating^{3} food^{2}'

(137) /cyá^{1} áṅ^{2} hanásobɨrɨ^{3}/
'he^{1} was coming^{3} home^{2}'

(ii) The present continuous is realized from the immediate future.

(138) /ánè^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thádebɨrɨ^{3}/
'you^{1} are eating^{3} food^{2}'

(139) /taméyìṅ tarab^{1} mlâ^{2} hanáàbɨrɨ^{3}/
'the elephant-herd^{1} is coming^{3} to the village^{2}'

(140) /níṅ^{1} píyawèlàṅ^{2} ódebɨrɨ^{3}/
'we^{1} are shooting^{3} birds^{2}'

(iii) The future continuous is realized from the distant future.

(141) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thánebɨrɨ^{3}/
'I^{1} shall be eating^{3} food^{2}'

(142) /nyú^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháyàbɨrɨ^{3}/
'you^{1} will be eating^{3} food^{2}'

(143) /wé^{1} iskul^{2} bóbìṅbɨrɨ^{3}/
'he^{1} will be going^{3} to school^{2}'

2.5.3.2.2.3. Repetitive-Durative:

This aspect indicates a repeated or sustained happening of the event over a period of time. This aspect does not occur with sensory, existential and qualitative states and terminal processes. The aspect is exclusively durative with cognitive and ambient states, processes and sensory actions. It is ambiguously repetitive and durative with motion verbs. With all other verbs, it is repetitive. The aspect is marked by the suffix /-ma/ and is associated with a tense inflexion for past and future realized from the recent past and immediate future respectively. The following set of examples illustrate this.

(144) /hắ^{1} tapĕ́^{2} thámaso^{3}/
'I^{1} kept on eating^{3} food^{2}'

(145) /nyú^{1} é míyàà^{2} hwĕ́maso^{3}/
'you^{1} kept on seeing^{3} this girl^{2}'

In the first sentence, the subject may have eaten food more than once or may haven eaten till there was no food left. In the second, the subject was looking at the girl without taking his eyes off her. Consider the sentence

(146) /taméỳiṅ^{1} masáṅablaṅ^{2} pimaà^{3}/
'the elephant^{1} will keep felling^{3} the trees^{2}'

where the subject repeats the action of felling with one tree after another. Compare this with the sentence

(147) /hắwè^{1} míyàwèlàṅ^{2} rúgamade^{3}/
'I^{1} shall keep on loving^{2} wives^{3}'

where the subject has a tendency to love only married women but never implies that he has a number of love affairs with married women. The sentence is not ambiguous.

2.5.3.2.3. Mood:

Mood expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the happening of the event or state represented by the sentence. It shows differing degrees of reality, desirability, contingency, and so on. Moods do not show any tense distinction.

2.5.3.2.3.1. Completive:

This mood indicates the end of the event or state represented by the sentence. It is marked by the verbs /paṅ/ and /daṅ/ either separately or combined. The suffix /-à/ is the affirmative suffix. This inflexion occurs with processes and actions.

(148) /taméyìṅ^{1} ablaṅsyíg^{2} tháрaṅà^{3}/
'the elephant^{1} ate^{3} the bananas^{2} completely^{3} '

(149) /tulûkŏ́wè^{1} mɨpaṅdaṅà^{2}/
'the Lohit^{1} was born fully^{2}'

(150) /jyimcyane^{1} tàbrĕ́^{2} káwidaṅà^{3}/
'Jimchane^{1} carved^{3} the meat^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.2. Imperative:

This mood indicates the permission or command to the subject by the speaker to perform the event or the action identified by the verb. The mood is marked by the suffix /-ná/. This mood occurs only with non-ambient action verbs and action verbs.

(151) /nyú^{1} tapĕ́^{2} thánά^{3}/ '(you)^{1} eat^{3} food^{2}'
(152) /ánè^{1} taméyìṅ^{2} hwĕ́rĕná^{3}/
'(you)^{1} see^{3} the elephant^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.3. Capabilitative:

This mood indicates the ability of the subject to perform the action or event represented by the verb. It is marked by the auxiliary verb /hanéyà/ 'to be able to' and occurs with all verbs except the existential state.

(153) /hắ^{1} ékam^{2} bàhanéyà^{3}/
'I^{1} can do^{3} this work^{2}'

(154) /hắ parŏ̀wè^{1} búbụ́tyù^{2} helóhanéyà^{3}/
'my friend^{1} can be happy^{3}
occasionally^{2}'

(155) /é tapɨ̂ lyáṅgő piwhanéyà /
'this flower^{1} can bloom^{3} at dusk^{2}'

The semantic range of this mood does not include the notion of either willingness of the subject or permission given to the subject to perform the event or action. It indicates only inherent ability or capability. We cannot have a sentence like

(155a) */nyú^{1} tasyĕ́syigabĕ^{2} hắ^{3}
tasyĕ́hanéyàyɨ̀m^{4}/
'even if you^{1} let me sing^{2}, I^{3}
cannot sing^{4}'

or like

(155b) */kadɨgmè^{1} pràwéyàyɨ̀m^{2} takhru^{3} nyú^{4}
tasyĕ́hanéyà^{5}/

'even if^{3} nobody^{1} likes^{2} (it),
you^{4} can sing^{5}'

2.5.3.2.3.4. Permissive:

This mood indicates the permission given to the subject to perform the action or event represented in the sentence. Most often this mood is expressed by the suffix /-syig/ and occurs always with the recent past tense suffix and indicates past time.

(156) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásyigso^{3}/
'I^{1} was permitted to eat^{3} rice^{2}'

(157) /hã́^{1} áṅ^{2} hanásyigso^{3}/
'I^{1} was permitted to come^{3} home^{2}'

The same suffix functions as a causative in agent-causative sentences. However, the suffix occurs only with an affirmative suffix there. However, in such sentences, the subject is the cause but never the actual performer of the action. But permission given by the subject for the action to be performed is marked by the suffix /-yŏ/ and occurs with the distant future tense suffix without the requisite concord restrictions and is neutral as to time.

(158) /wélàṅ^{1} tháyŏke^{2}/
'let^{2} them^{1} eat^{2}'

(159) /níṅ^{1} tejyab^{2} bóyŏke^{3}/

'let^{3} us^{1} go^{3} to Tezu^{2}'

Time, if it is to be indicated, is so done with the help of temporal adverbs as in sentence

(160) /níṅ^{1} bilyáṅgŏ^{2} tejyab^{3} bóyŏke^{4}/
'we^{1} were allowed to go^{4} to Tezu^{3} yesterday^{2}'

The inflexion does not occur with existential and qualitative states.

2.5.3.2.3.5. Necessitative:

This mood indicates the need or the advisability on the part of the subject to perform the action or event indicated by the verb in the sentence. It is marked by the suffix /-dɨga/. The inflexion does not occur with existential state.

(161) /hắ^{1} tapĕ́^{2} thádɨga^{3}/
'(it is necessary that)^{3} I^{1} eat^{3} rice^{2}'

(162) /jyimcyane míyàwè^{1} syẽdɨga^{2}/
'(it is necessary that)^{2} Jimchane's wife^{1} dies^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.6. Probabilitative:

This mood indicates the likelihood or the temporal uncertainty of performing the event or happening of the state represented in the sentence. It is marked by the suffix /-bóm/.

(163) /hã́^{1} taphragam^{2} hanábóm^{3}/
'I^{1} shall probably come^{3} to
Taphragam^{2}'

(164) /nyú yuwàwè^{1} masyẽ̀tyóbóm^{2}/
'your son^{1} is probably hungry^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.7. Decisive:

This mood indicates the decision or determination of the subject of the sentence to perform the action or event represented by the verb. It is marked by the suffix /-gâ/ and occurs with the immediate future tense.

(166) /hã́^{1} thágâde^{2}/
'I^{1} (decided that I shall) eat^{2}'

(167) /jyimcyane^{1} jyábmalù^{2} hwégâà^{3}/
'Jimchane^{1} decided to see^{3} the God^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.8. Determinative:

This mood indicates the determination or decision of the speaker to bring about the happening of the event or state represented by the verb. It is marked by the suffix /-pɨy/ and occurs with distant future tense.

(168) /cyá^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thápɨyne^{3}/
'I am determined that^{3} he^{1} will eat^{3}
'rice^{2}'

(169) /nyú^{1} taphragam^{2} bópɨyne^{3}/
'I am determined that^{3} you^{1} will go^{3}
to Taphragam^{2}'

where the speaker and the subject are coreferential, the determinative mood indicates a greater degree of decision than the decisive mood. Consider the sentencs

(170) /hắ^{1} jyimcyane^{2} syépɨyne^{3}/
'I^{1} am determined to kill^{3} Jimchane^{2}'

(171) /hắ^{1} jyimcyane^{2} syégâde^{3}/
'I^{1} decided to kill^{3} Jimchane^{2}'

The first gives the sense of the inevitability of killing whereas the second does not reflect on the actual carrying out of the action.

2.5.3.2.3.9. Definitive:

This mood indicates the certainty of the speaker towards the performance or happening of the action, event or state represented by the verb and also indicates the inevitability of the happening of the action, state or event. It is marked by the suffix /-kõ/ and occurs with the distant future tense marker /-li/ and with the neutral tense marker /-yà/. However, the requisite concord restrictions do not apply. An example is

(172) /syakõli/ '(thus) happened (the tale)

which is used as a termination of folk-tales.

(173) /hã́ ^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thákõli^{3}/
'I^{1} (am definite that I) shall eat^{3}
food^{2}'

(174) /cyá^{1} taphragam^{2} hanákõli^{3}/
'he^{1} (is sure to) come^{3} to Tafragam^{2}'

(175) /nyú^{1} táṅa rókõli^{3}/
'you^{1} (are sure to) to catch^{3} fish^{2}'

2.5.3.2.3.10. Repetitive:

Not to be confused with the aspect repetitive-durative, this mood can be explained only on the basis of discourse. When the verb takes the repetitive inflexion, the mood signifies that the action denoted by the verb has happened once before during the discourse. The suffix -/na/ indicates this mood. Consider the sentence

(175a) /tadyáwè^{1} khɨmyõnayàgõ^{2} lakabsyíg^{3}
kráṅhajàyà^{4}/
'the squirrel^{1}, angered^{2}, bit and
dropped^{4} the wood-apple^{3}'

The /-na/ in the second word indicates that the subject is not the first to be angry in the discourse. In fact this sentence has a precedent in (175b).

(175b) /kathíṅwè^{1} khɨmyõyàgõ^{2} páhwã^{3}
thágyà^{4}/
'the ant^{1}, angered^{2}, bit^{4} the frog^{3}'

Thus the two actions form a sequence. In such a situation, the consequent sentence always has a repetitive inflexion on its verb complex. One restriction that seems to hold good is that no two adjacent subjects in such a sequence can be coreferential.

2.5.3.2.4. Concord:

There are certain very limited features of concord or agreement of the verbal form with the subject of the sentence. These features pertain to the categories of person and number. Concord is marked in two ways.

2.5.3.2.4.1. Suffixation:

Number is marked by suffixation. The suffix is /-rẽ/ and is placed before the tense/mood suffixes.

(176) /níṇ̇^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thárẽke^{3}/
'we^{1} shall eat^{3} rice^{2}'

(177) /ánè^{1} taphragam^{2} bórẽne^{3}/
'you^{1} go^{3} to Taphragam^{2}'

2.5.3.2.4.2. Suppletion:

This process accounts for the person concord. The motivation for treating them as cases of suppletion comes from the fact that plural has another overt form in some of the concord situations. Consider, for example, the sentences

(178) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháne^3/
eat-DF(1Sg)
'I^1 shall eat^3 food^2'

(179) /nyú^1 tapẽ́^{2} tháyà^3/
eat-DF(2Sg)
'you^1 will eat^3 food^2'

(180) /cyá^1 tapẽ́^{2} thábìṅ^3/
eat-DF(3Sg)
'he^1 will eat^3 rice^2'

(181) /níṅ^1 tapẽ́^{2} thárẽke^3/
eat-Pl-DF(1Pl)
'we^1 shall eat^3 rice^2'

where the future tense has four allomorphs each in the environment of one person. Alternately, the cases of suppletion can be treated as syncretic forms where the suffixes may be analyzed as coalesced forms of tense/person.

ne	...	I person + distant future
ke	...	I person + distant future + (plural)
yà	...	II person + distant future
bìṅ	...	III person + distant future

2.5.3.2.5. Causative:

Causation, in Mishmi, is morphological. That is, the process is brought about by suffixation. It indicates the instigation of the event by an external stimulus. What we get is a double actor configuration. The external stimulus is the agent and the actural performer is the executor. A detailed explanation of these terms is given in the chapter on case.

There are two causative suffixes, /-bo/ 'be caused' used when the executor is the subject and /-syig/ 'cause' used when the agent is the subject. These two are morphologically in contrast with the configuration when the agent and the executor are coreferential. To exemplify,

(182) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thádebo^{3}/
I-Nom [A] rice-Acc eat-Fut(1Sg)-Cau
'I^{1} (was forced to) eat^{3} rice^{2} (by someone)'

Semantically the event is past, but the grammatical marking is with the immediate future tense suffixes.

(183) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásyiga^{3}/
I-Nom [A] rice-Acc eat-Cau-Aff
'I^{1} caused (someone) to eat^{3} rice^{2}'

(184) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháde^{3}/
I-Nom A/E rice-Acc eat-IF(1Sg)
'I^{1} eat^{3} rice^{2}'

The agent and the executor cannot occur together in a surface sentence. If both are to be specified, it is essential to add an entailment to the sentence.

(185) /hã́^{1} thásyiga^{2}, nyú^{3} thádebo^{4}/
I-Nom eat-Cau you-Nom eat-Cau ,

'I^{1} caused^{2} you^{3} to eat^{4}'

The causal suffixes can occur with only action verbs since the presence of an agent or an executor is obligatory.

2.5.3.2.6. Movement:

Mishmi verbs can be inflected for movement. It indicates that the action represented by the verb is preceded by some movement. The movement is necessarily directional, in the sense that the movement is either towards or away from the speaker prior to the event. It is marked by the suffix /-ge/. The event is always in the past time though tense is not overtly marked. The morpheme is in complementary distribution with all other inflexional suffixation.

(186) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháge^{3}/
'I^{1} went/came (and) ate^{3} rice^{2}'

(187) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháso^{3}/
'I^{1} ate^{3} rice^{2}'

There are some occurrence restrictions imposed on movement. It occurs with only action verbs. However, action verbs of directional motion like 'go', 'come', etc., are exceptions and do not undergo inflexion for movement. Non-directional verbs can be inflected for movement as the sentences given below exemplify.

(188) /kwág^{1} dúge^{2}/
'the dog^{1} jumped^{2}'

in contrast with

(189) /kwág^{1} dúso^{2}/
'the dog^{1} jumped^{2}'

The difference in these two sentences lies in the fact that while the second sentence indicates simply jumping from a stationary posture, the first sentence would necessarily signify a running jump.

2.5.3.2.7. Reportive:

In Mishmi, any event can be reported only twice successively. The events are reported by means of the addition of a reportive morpheme to the predicate in the sentence.

When an event is reported once, the predicate in the sentence takes the morpheme /-la/ which makes no tense distinction. In sentences with non-pronominal subjects, this suffix indicates the lack of first hand information or knowledge concerning the validity of the event on the part of the speaker. For example, consider

(190) /kwág^{1} wíṅàla^{2}/
dog-Nom bark-Hab(3Sg)-Ret
'(Someone says that)^{2} the dog^{1} barks^{2}'

(191) /karasola/
rain-RecP-Ret
'(someone says that) it rained'

However, if the sentence has a pronominal subject, the reference to the subject changes according to the relation that holds between the subject, the reporter and the person reported to. Consider

(192) /hã́^{1} íncimyɨ̀m^{2}/
'I^{1} am not sleepy^{2}'

(193) /nyú^{1} íncimyɨ̀m^{2}/
'you^{1} are not sleepy^{2}'

(194) /cyá^{1} íncimyɨ̀m^{2}/
'he^{1} is not sleepy^{2}'

When the person reported to is the subject of the sentence, the three take the form

(195) /nyú^{1} íncimyɨ̀mla^{2}/
'[someone (specific) said that]^{2}
you^{1} are not sleepy^{2}'

When the reporter is the original subject of the sentence, they take the form

(196) /hã́^{1} íncimyɨ̀mla^{2}/
'[someone (specific) said that]^{2}
I^{1} am not sleepy^{2}'

When the subject is neither the reporter nor the person reported to, they take the form

(197) /cyá^1 íncimyɨ̀mla^2/
'[someone (specific) said that]^2
he^1 is not sleepy^2'

When an event once reported is reported again, the morpheme /-ha/ is suffixed to the verb before the morpheme /-la/. It indicates that the event is a much-reported one and, as such, its validity is doubtful and that its origin is obscure. Generally it refers to an unsubstantiated rumor. Consider the sentences

(198) /karasohala/
'It is said that it rained'

(199) /kwág^1 wínàhala^2/
'(it is said that)^2 the dog^1 barks^2'

In sentences with pronominal subjects, the subject reference changes in the same way as for the first report. The major difference is the degree of validity.

(200) /há^1 íncimyɨ̀mhala^2/
'(it is said that)^2 I^1 am not sleepy^2'

(201) /nyú^1 íncimyɨ̀mhala^2/
'(it is said that)^2 I^1 am not sleepy^2'

(202) /cyá^1 íncimyɨ̀mhala^2/
'(it is said that)^2 he^1 is not sleepy^2'

In the context, the first report always makes clear the speaker of the original sentence.

2.5.3.2.8. Negation:

Negation is expressed in three ways in Mishmi.

(1) The equational sentences without a copula take the form /àym/ to express negation.

(203) /hã́wè^{1} gwág^{2} àym^{3}/
'I^{1} am not^{3} a priest^{2}'

(204) /éwègõ^{1} majyáràyk^{2} àym^{3}/
'the cat^{2} is not^{3} here^{1}'

The existential sentences also take the form /àym/.

(205) /píyawè^{1} masánkyã̀^{2} àym^{3}/
'the bird^{1} is not^{3} in the tree^{2}'

(206) /macéygwè^{1} táphragõ^{2} àym^{3}/
'(there) is no^{3} water^{1} in the river^{2}'

The form /àym/ can be analyzed as /à/ + /yɨ̀m/ where /à/ is one of the paradigmatic forms of the existential verb /ì-/ 'to be' and /-yɨ̀m/ is the negative suffix.

All other cases of negative formation are by either suffixation or syncretic forms.

(2) Suffixation:

There are two negative suffixes /-yɨ̀m/ and /-ɨ̀m/. /-ɨ̀m/ is used to mark negation in the following instances.

(i) When the permissive mood is negated.

(207) /hã́^{1} thá-ɨ̀m-yõ-ke^{2}/
I-Nom eat-Neg-Per-DF(1Sg)
'I^{1} did not allow (someone) to eat^{2}'

The negation indicates the refusal to give permission to perform the action and entails that the action was not performed subsequently.

(ii) When the suffix is preceded by -

(a) The immediate future tense marker /-de/. Here a morphophonemic rule would delete the vowel in the tense suffix (Rule 3).

/-de/ --> /-d/ / --- /-ɨ̀m/.

Ex: (1) Immediate Future/Habitual -

(208) /hã́^{1} thádɨ̀m^{2}/
'I^{1} shall/do not eat^{2}'

(209) /nyú^{1} hã́^{2} parõ̀^{3} hwẽ́dɨ̀m^{4}/
'you^{1} will/do not see^{4} my^{2} friend^{3}'

(2) Decisive Mood -

(210) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thágâdɨ̀m^{3}/
'I^{1} (decided that I) shall not eat^{3}
rice^{2}'

(211) /hã́^{1} jyimcyane^{2} syégâdɨ̀m^{3}/
'(I decided that) I^{1} shall not kill^{3}
Jimchane^{2}'

Here the negation applies only to the action of the main verb but not to the decision expressed by the mood.

(3) Executor Causative -

(212) /hã́^{1} thádɨ̀mbo^{2}/
'I^{1} did not (not caused to) eat^{2}'

Here also only the action of the main verb is negated but not the presence of the external stimulus, i.e., the sentence (212) cannot entail

(213) /hã́^{1} tháso^{2}/
'I^{1} eat^{2}'

(b) The future tense marker /-li/. Here also a morphophonemic rule deletes the final vowel of the tense marker.

/-li/ --→ /-l/ / ---- /-m/ as in

Ex: (1) The Distant Future Formation -

(214) /hã́^{1} thábìlɨ̀m^{2}/
'I^{1} shall not eat^{2}'

There are two rules operating on this. The analysis would be 'thá + bìṅ + li + ɨ̀m'. The negative suffix can be attached only after supplying the future tense markers /-bìṅ/ and /-li/. The concord restrictions do not apply. The first rule deletes the final nasal in the first tense suffix. The second deletes the final vowel in the second tense suffix (Rule 4).

*thábìṅliɨ̀m --→ *thábìliɨ̀m --→ thábìlɨ̀m

(2) The Negation of the Determinative Mood -

(215) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thálɨ̀mpɨyne^3/
'I^1 am determined not to eat^2 rice^3'

Here only the action of the main verb is negated but not the determination of the speaker expressed by the verb.

(3) The Negation of the Definitive Mood –

(216) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thákõlɨ̀m^3/
'I^1 (do not know when I) shall eat^3 rice^2'

Here the negation is only of the definiteness of the mood but not the main action. That is, the mood becomes indefinitive but still entails the happening of the action.

/-yɨ̀m/ is used with –

(a) Tense markers other than /-bìn/, /-de/ and /-li/.

(217) /cyá^1 tapẽ́^{2} tháàyɨ̀m^3/
'he^1 will not eat^3 food^2'

(218) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thábiyayɨ̀m^3/
'I^1 shall not eat^3 food^2'

(219) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásoyɨ̀m^3/
'I^1 did not eat^3 food^2'

(220) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháliyàyɨ̀m^3/
'I^1 did not eat^3 food^2'

(221) /nín^1 tapẽ́^{2} thárẽkeyɨ̀m^3/
'we^1 shall not eat^3 food^2'

(222) /nyú^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháyàyɨ̀m^{3}/
'you^{1} did not eat food^{2}'

The negative suffix when it is attached to the verbs in repetitive durative aspect indicates the absence of the repetitive/durative nature of the action expressed by the main-verb but does not indicate the absence of the performance or happening of the action. Consider the sentences

(223) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thámasoyɨ̀m /
'I^{1} did not keep on eating^{3} food^{2}'

(224) /hã́^{1} taméyìnwèlàn^{2} syémasoyɨ̀m^{3}/
'I^{1} did not keep on killing^{3} the elephants^{2}'

It implies that the action of killing stopped at some stage and the subject stopped killing or gave it up at the time of speech or the time he referred to.

(b) Many of the moods.

(i) Capabilitative as in

(225) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháhanéyàyɨ̀m^{3}/
'I^{1} cannot eat^{3} food^{2}'

The negation indicates the incapability to perform the action of the main verb without entailing whether the action was subsequently performed or not.

(ii) Necessitative as in

(226) /há̃^{1} tapé̃^{2} thádɨgayɨ̀m^{3}/

'I^{1} need not eat^{3} food^{2}'

Here again the negation indicates the lack of necessity to perform the main action without actually entailing whether the action was subsequently performed or not.

(iii) Completive as in

(227) /há̃^{1} tapé̃^{2} thápanyɨ̀m^{3}/

(228) /há̃^{1} tapé̃^{2} thádanyɨ̀m^{3}/

(229) /há̃^{1} tapé̃^{2} thápandanyɨ̀m^{3}/

'I^{1} did not complete eating^{3} food^{2}'

The negative inflexion replaces the affirmative inflexion /-à/ in the above examples. It indicates that the happening of the main event or action remained incomplete entailing that it was not subsequently resumed.

(iv) Permissive as in

(230) /há̃^{1} tapé̃^{2} thásyigsoyɨ̀m^{3}/

'I^{1} was not allowed to eat^{3} food^{2}'

The negation applies to the mood as well as the main action. That is, the permission to perform the main action is denied entailing that subsequently the action remained unperformed. This makes a sentence like 231 ungrammatical.

(231) */hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásyigsoyɨ̀m^{3} takhru^{4} hã́^{5}
tháso^{6}/
'though^{4} I^{1} was not allowed to eat^{3}
food^{2}, I^{5} ate^{6}'

(c) The movement inflexion.

(232) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thágeyɨ̀m^{3}/
'I^{1} did not come/go and did not eat^{3}
food^{2}'

The negation applies to both the movement and the main action. Neither the subject could have performed the main action nor could he have performed the associated movement. The sentence (232) would be ungrammatical with either (233) or (234) as entailment.

(233) /hã́^{1} tháso^{2}/ 'I^{1} ate^{2}'

(234) /hã́^{1} bóliyà^{2}/ 'I^{1} went^{2}'

(d) The agent causative.

Here the negation applies only to the causation, i.e., it indicates the absence of the external stimulus. Consider the sentence

(235) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} thásyigayɨ̀m^{3}/
'I^{1} did not cause --to eat^{3} food^{2}'

It becomes ungrammatical with an entailment like

(236) /cyá^{1} tháliyà^{2}/
'(but) he^{1} ate^{2}'

(e) The reportive.

Here the negation indicates that the sentence was not reported. But it does not negate the main event or action. Only the first reportive inflexion can take a negative inflexion. Consider

(237) /karasolayɨ̀m/

'it is not true that someone reported that it rained'

(238) /hã́^{1} íncimyɨ̀mlayɨ̀m^{2}/

'it is not true that I said that I^{1} am not sleepy^{2}'

(3) Syncretic Forms:

Negation is coalesced with other inflexions in two instances.

(a) While negating the imperative mood, the syncretic form is /-yá/. It can be analyzed as a combination of two morphemes /-ná/ which is the imperative inflexion and the negative inflexion. Consider the sentence

(238a) /tapẽ́^{1} tháyá^{2}/

'don't eat^{2} food^{1}'

which is the result of the application of a negative transformation to an imperative sentence.

T_{Neg} [tapẽ́ thánáNeg]

(b) The same is true with the negation of the probabilitative mood where changing the tone on the mood inflexion indicates negation.

(238b) /hã́^{1} taphragam^{2} hanábôm^{3}/
'I^{1} shall probably not come^{3} to Taphragam^{2}'

In this sentence, the tone on the morpheme -bom changes from rising to rising-falling.

- - - -

SYNTAX

3.1. General Characterization - Simple Sentence:

The most general characterization of Mishmi syntax is that the sentences are structured around a predicate. The predicate, when not further modified, may itself be a sentence. The predicate consists of any one of the constructions described in section 3.3. The predicate may be modified by a number of nominals.

3S1 S ---> (NP+) VP

The word order is more or less rigidly fixed as subject - X - object - verb where X is a cover symbol for other syntactic components.

3.2. Noun Phrase:

If it does not contain a pronoun, a Noun Phrase, as a rule, contains a noun. It can also contain any number of adjectives (though, in texts, few Noun Phrases have more than two adjectives). The adjectives follow the noun but precede the case inflexions. A typical Noun Phrase of this type consists of a noun (N), followed by a sentence intensifier (i_1), one or more adjectives (m_1, m_2, m_3, etc.), a lexical intensifier (i_2), and a classifier-numeral combination (cl-n). Except the noun, all others are optional.

3S2 NP ---> $N + (i+m_1+m_2+ \ldots\ i_2) + (cl+n)$

Cooccurrence Restrictions:

(i) The presence of i_1 requires the presence of i_2.

(ii) The presence of i_2 requires the presence of at least one adjective.

(iii) The occurrence of the classifier-numeral combination and that of the intensifier-adjective combination are independent of each other.

(iv) The sentence intensifier is always /àlyayɨ̀m/ 'incomparable'.

Though a Noun Phrase with a long string of the above elements is theoretically possible, in actual texts Noun Phrases are seldom more complex than three components.

/tabáb draṅ/	snake big	'big snake'
/tabábtyaṅmána/	snake cl five	'five snakes'
/tabáb tháyg grag/	snake poisonous intens.	'very poisonous snake'
/tabáb tháyg draṅ/	snake poisonous big	'big poisonous snake'
/tabáb àlyayɨ̀m tháyg grag/	snake incomparable poisonous intens.	'very highly poisonous snake'
/tabáb àlyayɨ̀m tháyg grag tyaṅmána/	snake incomparable poisonous intens. cl-five	'five very highly poisonous snakes'

A Noun Phrase, in addition to the head noun, can contain a second 'modifier' noun or a pronoun before it.

3S3 $\quad \text{NP} \dashrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ \text{Pron}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{N}$

Such appositional Noun Phrases show -

(i) Possession - both alienable as well as inalienable.

/macyù^{1} ráwù^{2}/	'deer^{1} horn^{2}'
[mod] [head]	
/hã́^{1} kitab^{2}/	'my^{1} book^{2}'
[mod] [head]	

(ii) Kinship.

/cyá^{1} míyà^{2}/	'his^{1} wife^{2}'
[mod] [head]	
/nyú^{1} yuwà^{2}/	'your^{1} son^{2}'
[mod] [head]	

(iii) Social membership.

/hã́^{1} parõ̀^{2}/	'my^{1} friend^{2}'
[mod] [head]	

(iv) Filial relationship - where the head noun is conceived of as an offspring of the modifier.

/macyù à/	'fawn'
deer offspring	
/macáb à/	'calf'
cow offspring	

(v) Occupation.

/masán mitrî/ wood mason	'carpenter'
/sáyg mitrî/ iron mason	'blacksmith'

(vi) Differentiation.

/macáb án/ cow house	'cow shed'
/garwi án/ horse house	'stable'
/táphra macyíg/ river water	'river water'

(vii) Composition.

/macyíg táphra/ water river	'river (which contains water)'

3.3. Verb Phrase (VP) - Predicate

The composition of the Verb Phrase depends upon the valency of the Verb Complex (VC). In Mishmi each verb has a fixed valency. There are derivational suffixes that change the valency - for instance, a transitive verb (say, /syé-/ 'to kill') plus reflexivizer yields an intransitive stem (/syétyu-/ 'to commit suicide'). Here the term valency is used to refer to the transitivity of the stem after all the derivational processes have been applied.

If the verb is marked ambient, the Verb Phrase which forms the sentence contains only a

Verb Complex.

3S4 (i) VP ---> VC_o

3S4a $_S[VC]_S$

A Verb Complex is taken as the combination of the verb with all the non-valency-marking nominals and adverbials like the instrument, locative, manner, ablative, and so on.

(239) /karaso/ '(it) rained'

(240) /bilyáṅ^1 tejyabkyằ^2 draṅ^3 karaso^4/
'(it) rained^4 heavily^3 in Tezu^2 yesterday^1'

If the verb is marked intransitive, the Verb Phrase contains just as intransitive VC with an optional NP.

3S4 (ii) VP ---> (NP+)VC_1

3S4b $_S[NP, (NP), VC_1]_S$

(241) /taméyìṅ^1 íṅso^2/
'the elephant^1 slept^2'

The sentence will contain the dative NP if the verb is further specified as a motion verb.

(242) /jyimcyane^1 hɨbáṅ^2 bóliyà^3/.
'Jimchane^1 went^3 to the forest^2'

The VP of an intransitive sentence can also contain a nominal predicate with or without an existential verb.

3S4 (iii) VP ---> NP+(be)

3S4c ${}_S[\mathrm{NP,\ NP,\ (be)}]_S$

The nominal predicate can be -

(i) A locative adverbial.

(243) /éwègõ^{1} majyáràykwè^{2} à^{3}/
'here^{1} is^{3} a cat^{2}'

(ii) An equational Noun Phrase.

(244) /hã́^{1} míyàwè^{2} gwág^{3}/
'my^{1} wife ^{2}(is) a priestess^{3}'

(iii) A possessive Noun Phrase.

(245) /hã́wè^{1} míyàkàsàṅ^{2} íyà^{3}/
I-Nom wife-three be-P
'I^{1} have^{3}three wives^{2}'

If the verb is marked transitive, the VP will contain an accusative NP and a transitive VC.

3S4 (iv) VP ---> NP+VC_2

3S4d ${}_S[\mathrm{NP,\ NP,\ VC_2}]_S$

(246) /hã́^{1} tamyâ^{2} óde^{3}/
I-Nom tiger-Acc shoot-Fut
'I^{1} shall shoot^{3} a tiger^{2}'

(247) /kathín^{1} jyím^{2} maróyà^{3}/
'the ant^{1} tells^{3} the truth^{2}'

If the verb is marked recipient transitive, the VP will contain an accusative NP, a dative NP and a recipient transitive VC.

- 3S4 (v) VP ---> NP+NP+VC$_3$

3S4e $_S[$NP, NP, NP, VC$_3]_S$

(248) /kathíṅ^1 ajyiṅdyabyadõ̀^{2} tapẽ́^{3}
ant-Nom queen-Dat food-Acc
haṅliyà^4/
give-RemP
'the ant^1 gave^4 the food^3 to the queen^2'

(249) /jyábmalù^1 jyimcyanedõ̀^{2} táphra^3
God-Nom Jimchane-Dat river-Acc
hakẽso^4/
show-RecP
'God^1 showed^4 the river^3 to Jimchane^2'

The VC can contain, apart from the verb, a number of NPs and adverbials subjected to certain selection restrictions.

(1) Temporal Adverbials:

A necessary condition for occurrence is that the adverbial should agree with the verb in tense and other final inflexions.

(250) /hã́^{1} bilyáṅgõ^2 tejyab^3 hanáso^4/
'I^1 came^4 to Tezu^3 last evening^2'

(251) /hã́ míyà^1 benagõ^2 hã́dõ̀^{3} kitab^4
I-wife-Nom tomorrow-Loc I-Dat book-Acc
haṅbiya^5/
give-DF(3Sg)
'My wife^1 will give^5 me^3 a book^4 tomorrow^2'

(252) /kapìkyã̀^{1} júwã̀^{2}/

'(it is) cold^{2} in winter^{1}'

(2) Manner Adverbials:

A similar restriction applies here.

(253) /jyimcyane^{1} kapátyàn^{2} hɨbán^{3}
Jimchane-Nom alone-Adv forest-Dat
bóliyà^{4}/
go-RemP

'Jimchane^{1} went^{4} to forest^{3} alone^{2}'

(254) /támèthi^{1} taméjyiḿ^{2} lakabsyíg^{3}
wild-boar-Nom mad-Adv wood-apple-Acc
tháliyà^{4}/
eat-RemP

'the wild-boar^{1} ate^{4} the wood-apples^{3} madly^{2}'

(255) /jyimcyanewè^{1} biyṍjyim^{2} hádig^{3}
Jimchane-Nom innocent-Adv cobra-Acc
rúgaso^{4}/
love-RecP

'Jimchane^{1} loved^{4} the cobra^{3} innocently^{2}'

(3) Locative NP:

(256) /bíyàbíyàgõ^{1} jyábmalù^{2} hɨbánkyã̀^{3}
past past-LocT God-Nom forest-Loc
chyígliyà^{4}/
walk-RemP

'once upon a time^{1} God^{2} walked^{4} in the forest^{3}'

(257) /kádɨ́gmè^{1} mlâkyã̀^{2} háramgaso^{3}/
all-man-Nom village-Loc assemble-RecP
'all the men^{1} assembled^{3} in the village^{2}'

(258) /hã́ míyà^{1} áṅkwẽ́^{2}
I-Poss wife-Nom house-Loc
íṅà^{3}/
sleep-Hab(3Sg)
'my wife^{1} sleeps^{3} in the house^{2}'

(4) Ablative NP:

(259) /búbútyù^{1} jyábmalù^{2} tarwímlâgõ^{3}
once once-Adv God-Nom heaven-Abl
bóà^{4}/
go-Hab(3Sg)
'sometimes^{1} God^{2} goes^{4} from heaven^{3}'

(260) /jyimcyane^{1} hɨbáṅgõ^{2} áṅ^{3}
Jimchane-Nom forest-Abl house-Dat
hanáso^{4}/
come-RecP
'Jimchane^{1} came^{4} home^{3} from the forest^{2}'

(261) /hã́ míyà^{1} hã́nyù^{2}
I-Poss wife-Nom I-Abl
plárázaṅ^{3} syiliyà^{4}/
rupees-thousand-Acc take-RemP
'my wife^{1} took^{4} a thousand rupees^{3} from me^{2}'

(5) Instrumental NP:

(262) /cyá^{1} táragõ^{2} tamyâ^{3}
he-Nom dao-Inst tiger-Acc

syéà^{4}/
kill-Hab(3Sg)
'he^{1} kills^{4} a tiger^{3} with a dao^{2}'

(263) /ajyindyab^{1} dɨmiṅgõ^{2} páhwã^{3}
queen-Nom nettles-Inst frog-Acc
yõkõyà^{4}/
hit-Def-T
'the queen^{1} hit^{4} the frog^{3} with nettles^{2}'

3.4. Reflexivization

In a simple sentence with a transitive VC, if the referent of the nominative NP is the same as or includes the referent of the accusative NP, the sentence undergoes a reflexive transformation. The accusative NP is deleted and the VC is detransitivized by adding the reflexive derivative suffix /-tyu/. Consider the sentences

(264) /cyá^{1} syétyuso^{2}/
he-Nom kill-Ref-RecP
'he^{1} killed himself^{2}'

(265) /cyá^{1} tamyâ^{2} syéso^{3}/
'he^{1} killed^{3} a tiger^{2}'

(266) /mówà^{1} míyà^{2} hwẽ́à^{3}/
'husband^{1} sees^{3} wife^{2}'

(267) /mówà^{1} hwẽ́tyuà^{2}/
husband-Nom see-Ref-Hab(3Sg)
'husband^{1} sees himself^{2}'

(268) /syâbrẽ̀wè^{1} míyàà^{2} rúgaà^{3}/
boy-Nom girl-Acc love-Hab(3Sg)
'the boy^{1} loves^{3} the girl^{2}'

(269) /syâbrẽ̀wè^{1} rúgatyuà^{2}/
boy-Nom love-Ref-Hab(3Sg)
'the boy^{1} loves himself^{2}'

3.5. Topicalization

Topicalization serves some clear stylistic needs in this language. In the texts, the formation of topic chains from simple sentences involving nouns requires the identification of the subject NP in one sentence with the subject NP in the next.

But if a number of consecutive sentences in a text sequence have a common NP with a common referent, it entails the formation of a topic chain : each sentence being transformed into a form in which the common NP is the subject NP. Topicalization is limited to accusative NPs, locative NPs, and verbs.

Given two simple sentences

(270) /gwág^{1} tasyẽ́sobɨrɨ^{2}/
priest-Now sing-RecP-Cont
'the priest^{1} was singing^{2}'

(271) /hã́^{1} gwág^{2} hwẽ́so^{3}/
I-Nom priest-Acc see-RecP
'I^{1} saw^{3} the priest^{2}'

in order to form a topic chain, it is necessary to topicalize the second. Topicalization brings the referent of the accusative NP to focus by moving it to the front of the sentence. When it is moved to the front, it takes the nominative case inflexion and becomes the subject. The agent NP takes the instrumental inflexion and may be optionally deleted.

(272) /gwágwè^{1} hã́nà^{2} hwẽ́so^{3}/
priest-Nom I-Inst [A] see-RecP
'I^{2} saw^{3} the priest^{1}'

The transformational rule operating on sentence (272) may be stated as

$$\begin{array}{cccccccc} & X & & [\ NP & {}_{VP}[NP & VC]_{VP} &] & X \\ & 1 & \emptyset & 2 & 3 & 4 & & 5 \\ \Longrightarrow & 1 & 3 & 2 & \emptyset & 4 & & 5 \\ & & [\text{-wè}] & [\text{-nà}] & & & & \end{array}$$

where X is a variable.

Given a sentence

(273) /kwág^{1} wíṅà^{2}/
dog-Nom bark-Hab(3Sg)
'dog^{1} barks^{2}'

when the verb is topicalized, its cognate noun is moved to the front and becomes the subject.

(273a) /wíṅyàwè^{1} kwágnà^{2}
barking-Now dog-Inst [A]
wíṅà^{3}/
bark-Hab(3Sg)

'the dog[2] barks[3] (barking)*[1]

Topicalization of the locative NPs is more widely found to occur than the other topicalizations. The topicalized NP retains the locative case inflexion. The accusative NP and the topicalized NP are both marked for nominative. The nominative NP of the source sentence is obligatorily deleted.

	X	[NP	$_{VP}$[NP	$_{VC}$[NP$_{Loc}$	V]$_{VC}$	X]$_{VP}$	X]	X
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
⟹	1	0	2	3	4	5	6	7
			[-wè]	[-wè]				

Given a sentence

(274) /ajyiṅdyabya[1] páhwã̂kyà̃[2] kêstiyà[3]
queen-Nom frog-Loc case-Acc
khíàbo[4]/
reach-Hab(3Sg)-Cau
'the queen[1] brought[4] the case[3] on the frog[2]'

when the locative is topicalized, the sentence reads as

(274a) /kêstiyàwè[1] páhwã̂wèkyà̃[2]
case-Nom frog-Nom-Loc
khíàbo[3]/
reach-Hab(3Sg)-Cau
'the case[1] was brought[3] on the frog[2]'

3.6. Deletions

Besides the four types of simple sentences and the sentences transformationally derived from them, quasi-elliptical versions of these sentences occur quite normally in this language. A basic difference is that the sentence must have a nominative NP.

Subject Deletion:

The nominative NP can be optionally deleted if the NP is an agent and is included in the semantic content of the verb. Given the sentence

(275) /tadáb^{1} kwág^{2} pìso^{3}/
snake-Nom [A] dog-Acc bite-RecP
'the snake^{1} bit^{3} the dog ^{2}'

The nominative NP can be deleted, giving the sentence

(276) /kwág^{1} pìso^{2}/
dog-Acc bit-RecP
'(the snake) bit^{2} the dog^{1}'

Object Deletion:

The accusative NP in a transitive sentence may be optionally deleted in a sentence like

(277) /hã́^{1} tapẽ́^{2} tháde^{3}/
I-Nom rice-Acc eat-Hab(1Sg)
'I^{1} eat^{3} rice^{2}'

giving a quasi-elliptical sentence.

(278) /hã́^{1} tháde^{2}/
I-Nom eat-Hab(1Sg)
'I^{1} eat^{2} (rice)'

The instrumental NP in a topicalized sentence is often deleted optionally. Given the sentence

(279) /píyawè^{1} hã́nà^{2} óliyà^{3}/
bird-Nom I-Inst shoot-RemP
'I^{1} shot^{3} the$^{[A]}$ bird^{2}'

the favourite form is

(280) /píyawè^{1} óliyà^{2}/
bird-Nom shoot-RemP
'(I) shoot^{2} the bird^{1}'

In texts, when there is a sequence of sentences in the form of a topic chain, the nominative NP is said only with the first and is deleted in the subsequent sentences.

(281) /jyimcyane^{1} áṅ^{2} hanáliyà^{3}/ and
Jimchane-Nom house come-Dat

/tapé̃^{4} tháyàgõ^{5} hɨbáṅ^{6}
food-Acc eat-Impl forest-Dat

bóliyà^{7}/
go-RemP
'Jimchane^{1} came^{3} home^{2}. Having
eaten^{5} food^{4}, (he)^{0} went^{7} to forest^{6}'

It contrast, many verbless sentences are also available with just an accusative NP, a dative NP, or an adverbial.

(282) /hã́/ 'I (he gave it to me)'
(283) /iskul/ 'to school (I am going to...)'

Though the occurrence is agreed upon, the general acceptability is less since the informants insist on the necessity of the presence of the verb. We can distinguish these from the other minimal sentences by saying that the latter involve discourse ellipsis, whereas the former involve grammatical ellipsis.

3.7. Relativization

If the nominative NP of any sentence has the same referent as any NP of a second sentence, then the first sentence can be embedded as a relative clause on to the NP of the second sentence. The preferred position for a relative clause is immediately preceding the NP it qualifies. The relative clause is frequently marked by its verb taking the case inflexion of the NP it qualifies, when the NP precedes the clause. Mishmi does not use any overt relativizers. The position of the clause and some NP movements represent the embedding. Two types of relativization are noticed.

(i) NP ----> NP + S
(ii) NP ----> S

If the sentences form a topic chain, the lower NP is obligatorily deleted. But in a situation of identical NPs in sentences which do not form a topic chain, the rule applies with a small variation. If the lower NP is a nominative NP and identical to the NP on to which the relativization is applied, it is deleted obligatorily.

(1) Relative Clause on to the Subject NP:

$$NP \dashrightarrow NP + S$$

Consider the sentence

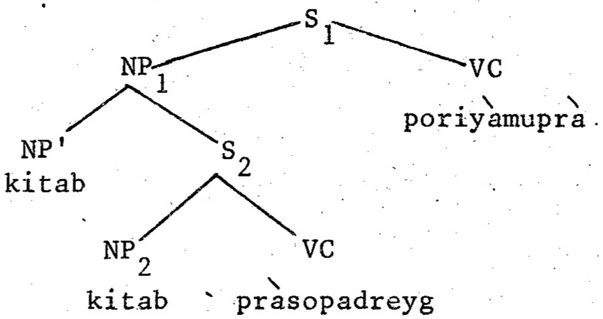
(284) /kitabwè^1 pràsopadreyg^2
book-Nom good-Pa-print

poriyàmuprà^3/
read-T-also-well
'printed^2 books^1 are easy to read^3'

This is derived from the two sentences.

(285) /kitabwè^1 poriyàmuprà^2/
book-Nom read-T-also-good
'books^1 are easy to read^2'

(286) /kitabwè^1 pràsopadreyg^2/
book-Nom good-Pa-print
'books^1 are printed well^2'



The lower NP is deleted. The cases are assigned in the following manner. The NP directly dominated by the S-node in the matrix sentence is in nominative case. The NP deletion occurs only if the lower NP is a nominative NP. This prevents the NP deletion in sentences like -

(287) /nyú^{1} mè^{2} ámáso^{3}
you-Nom man-Acc call-RecP

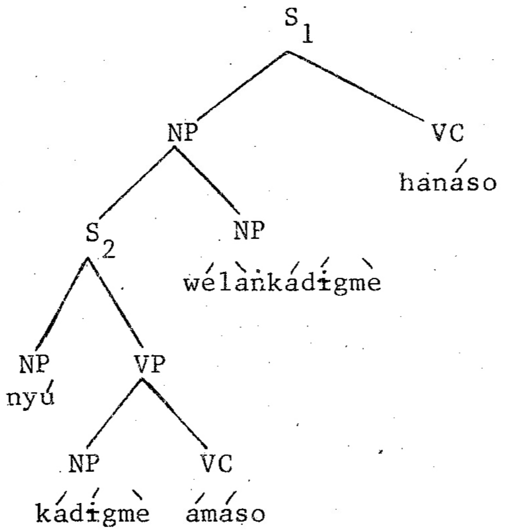
wélàṅkádɨ́gmè^{4} hanáso^{5}/
those-all-man come-RecP

'all those men^{4} (whom)^{2} you^{1} called^{3}
have came^{5}'

This is derived from two simple sentences.

(288) /nyú^{1} kádɨ́gmè^{2} ámáso^{3}/
you-Nom all-man call-RecP
'you^{1} called^{3} all men^{2}'

(289) /wélàṅ kádɨ́gmè^{1} hanáso^{2}/
those all-man-Nom come-RecP
'all those men^{1} came^{2}'



(2) Relative Clause on to the Accusative NP:

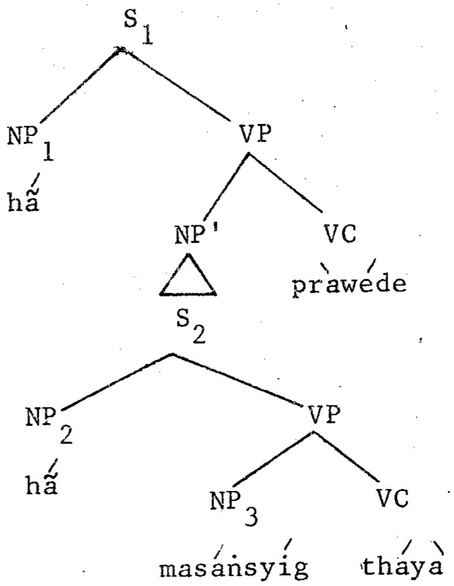
Consider the sentence

(290) /hã́^{1} masáṅsyíg^{2} tháyàwè^{3}
I-Nom fruit-Acc eat-T-Nom
pràwéde^{4}/
good-Vz-P(1Sg)
'I^{1} like^{4} eating^{3} fruit^{2}'

It is derived from the two sentences.

(291) /hã́^{1} masáṅsyíg^{2} tháyà^{3}/
I-Nom fruit-Acc eat-T
'I^{1} eat^{3} fruit^{2}'

(292) /hã́^{1} S^{2} pràwéde^{3}/
I-Nom good-Vz-P(1Sg)
'I^{1} like^{3} S^{2}'



This sentence belongs to type (ii).

Consider the sentence

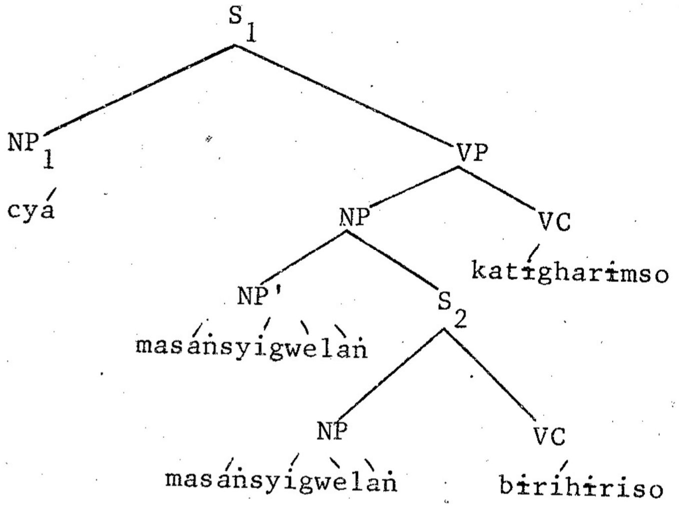
(293) /masáṅsyígwèlàṅ^{1} bɨríhɨriso^{2} cyá^{3}.
tree-fruit-Pl-Acc fall-RecP she-Nom

katɨ́gharɨmso^4/
collect-RecP
'she^3 collected^4 the fallen^2 fruit^1'

It is derived from the sentences

(294) /masánsyígwèlàn^1 bɨríhɨriso^2/
fruits-Nom fall-RecP
'fruits^1 fell^2'

(295) /cyá^1 masánsyígwèlàn^2
she-Nom fruits-Acc
katɨ́gharɨmso^3/
collect-RecP
'she^1 collected^3 fruits^2'



The lower identical NP is deleted. The NP dominated by the S-node is assigned nominative case and the NP dominated by the VP-node is assigned the accusative case.

(3) Relative Clause on the the Dative NP:

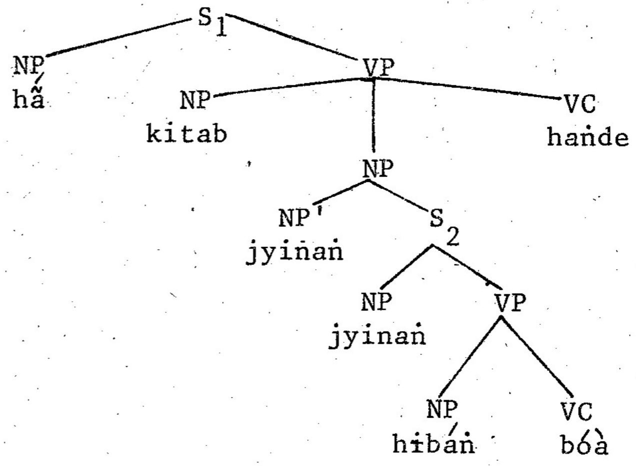
Goven a sequence of sentences like

(296) /hã́^{1} jyinaṅdò̃^{2} kitab^{3}
I-Nom cousin-Dat book-Acc
haṅde^{4}/
give-Hab(1Sg)
'I^{1} give^{4} a book^{3} to my cousin^{2}'

(297) /jyinaṅ^{1} hɨbáṅ^{2} bóà^{3}/
cousin-Nom forest-Dat go-Hab(3Sg)
'cousin^{1} went^{3} to forest^{2}'

we can generate the structure (298). The lower NP is deleted because it forms part of a topic chain.

(298) /hã́^{1} hɨbáṅ^{2} bóyà^{3} jyinaṅdò̃^{4}
I-Nom forest-Dat go-T cousin-Dat
kitab^{5} haṅde^{6}/
book-Acc give-Hab(3Sg)
'I^{1} give^{6} the book^{5} to (my) cousin^{4}
(who) goes^{3} to the forest^{2}'



3.8. Subordination

Subordination is the process by which a simple sentence is nominalized to function as a satellite to another simple sentence. Two distinct subordination processes are possible.

3.8.1. Implication:

Sequences of two sentences, where one is a natural consequence of the other or is performed as a necessary preliminary to the other are in what is called an implicative relation. That is the VC of one sentence implicates the other. The process is marked by the VC in the implicated sentence taking the inflexion /-gõ/ in place of tense inflexion. The process is possible only if the sequence forms a topic chain. Given the two sentences

(299) /nín^1 táphra^2 bóde^3/
we-Nom river-Dat go-Hab)1P1)
'we^1 go^3 to the river^2'

(300) /nín^1 táṅa^2 róde^3/
we-Nom fish-Acc catch-Hab(1P1)
'we^1 catch^3 fish^2'

we can generate two structures.

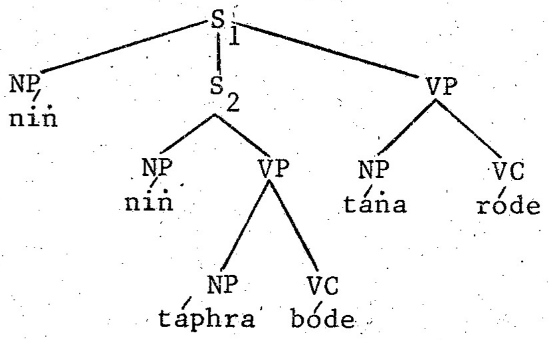
(301) /nín^1 táphra^2 bóyàgõ^3
we-Nom river-Acc/Dat go-CF-Impl
táṅa^4 róde^5/
fish-Acc catch-Hab(1P1)
'we^1 catch^5 fish^4 by going^3 to the river^2'

where going to the river is a necessary preliminary to catching fish, and

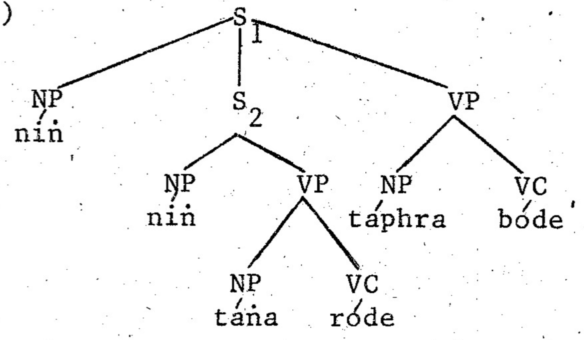
(302) /níṅ^1 táṅa^2 róyàgõ^3
we-Nom fish-Acc catch-CF-Impl
táphra^4 bóde^5/
river-Dat go-Hab(1Pl)
'we^1 go^5 to the river^4 in order to catch^3 fish^2'

where the relationship is purposive. The two distinct structures result from different tree structures.

(301)



(302)



Sequences of sentences with a common non-topic NP can also be implicated. The implication gives rise to a cause and effect relationship. Given the sentences

(303) /cyá^{1} hɨbáṅ^{2} bóliyà^{3}/ and
he-Nom forest-Dat go-RemP
'he^{1} went^{3} to the forest^{2}'

(304) /tamyâ^{1} cyá^{2} syéliyà^{3}/
tiger-Nom he-Acc kill-RemP
'the tiger^{1} killed^{3} him^{2}'

we can generate an implicated structure by topicalizing the second sentence so that the sequence forms a topic chain.

(305) /cyáwè^{1} hɨbáṅ^{2} bóyàgŏ^{3} tamyâ^{4}
he-Now forest-Dat go-Impl tiger-Nom
syéliyà^{5}/
kill-RemP
'(because) he^{1} went^{3} to the forest^{2},
the tiger^{4} killed^{5} (him)'

(306) /cyáwè^{1} tamyâ^{2} syéyàgŏ^{3}
he-Nom tiger-Nom kill-Impl
hɨbáṅ^{4} bóliyà^{5}/
forest-Dat go-RemP
'he^{1} went^{5} to the forest^{4} (because
he was destined to be) killed^{3} (by)
the tiger^{2}'

Case Marking:

(i) The topicalized NP is marked for nominative.

(ii) The instrumental NP in the topicalized NP reverts to the nominative.

The two nominative NPs, perhpas, form the subjects of the two verb complexes. But implication is the only process in Mishmi which results in a single sentence with two nominative NPs.

3.8.2. Conditioning:

Sequences of two sentences, where the happening of one is a precondition to the happening of the other, are said to be in a conditional relationship. The process of subordinating such sequences is marked by the conditional suffixes. The sentences need not form a topic chain.

If the sequence forms a topic chain, the lower nominative NP is deleted and the VC of the conditional sentence takes the conditional inflexion /-kijyi/. Consider the sequence.

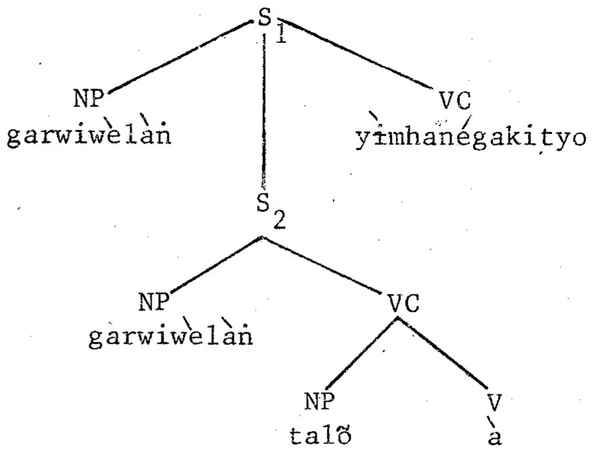
(307) /garwiwèlàṅ^{1} talɤ^{2} à^{3}/
horse-Pl-Nom wings be(3Pl)
'horses^{1} have^{3} wings^{2}'

(308) /garwiwèlàṅ^{1} yɨ̀mhanégakityo^{2}/
horses-Nom fly-Capab-Prob
'horses^{1} can fly^{2}'

From this, we can generate the sentence

(309) /garwiwèlàṅ^{1} talɤ^{2} àkijyi^{3}
horses-Nom wing be-Cond
yɨ̀mhanégakityo^{4}/
fly-Capab-Prob

'if^{3} horses^{1} had^{3} wings^{2}, (they)^{1}
could have flown^{4}'



The case marking remains the same as in the source sentences. If the sequence does not form a topic chain, the VC of the conditioning sentence takes the conditional inflexion /-bĕ/. Given the sequence

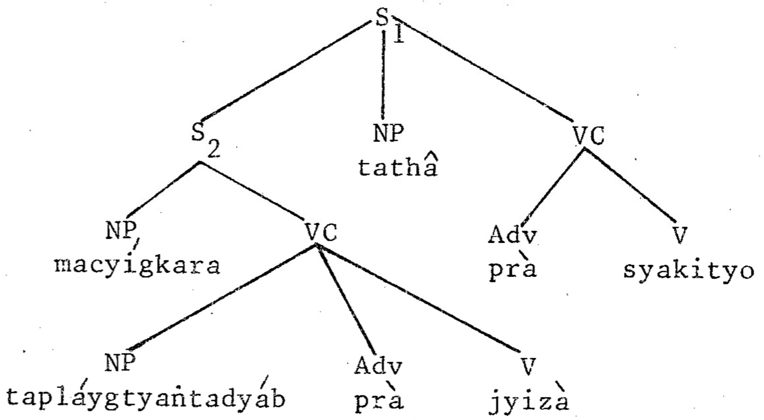
(310) /tapláygtyaṅtadyábgŏ^{1} macyígkara^{2}
seed-sow-season-Loc[T] water-rain-Nom
prà jyizà^{3}/
good fall
'rain^{2} fell^{3} in time^{1}'

(311) /tathâ^{1} prà^{2} syakityo^{3}/
crop-Nom good-Adv happen-Prob
'crops^{1} should be^{3} good^{2}'

we can generate a structure, where (310) is a condition to the happening of the second.

(312) /tapláygtyaṅtadyábgŏ^{1} macyígkara^{2}
seed-sow-season-LocT water-rain-Nom

prà jyizàbẽ^{3} tathâ^{4} prà^{5}
good fall-Cond crop-Nom good-Adv
syakityo^{6}/
happen-Prob
'if^{3} rains^{2} fell^{3} in time^{1}, crops^{4}
could be^{6} good^{5}'



Case marking remains the same as in source sentences.

3.8.3. Time Specification:

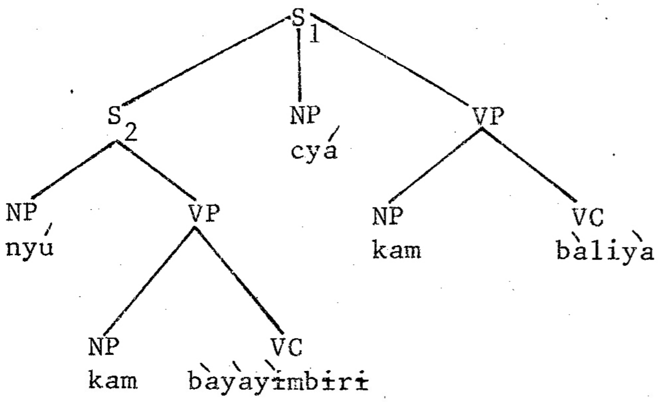
Sequences of two sentences, where one specifies the time of happening of the second or relates the second temporally to any other event in general, the relation is a temporal relation. The process is marked by the VC of the sentence which serves as the temporal reference taking the inflexion/-gõ/ in addition to its tense inflexion. Thus given the two sentences

(313) /cyá^{1} kam^{2} bàliyà^{3}/
he-Nom work-Acc do-RemP
'he^{1} did^{3} the work^{2}'

(314) /nyú^1 kam^2 bàyàyɨ̀mbɨrɨ^3/
you-Nom work-Acc do-DF(2Sg)-Neg-Cont
'you^1 won't be^3 doing^3 the work^2'

we can generate a structure

(315) /nyú^1 kam^2 bàyàyɨ̀mbɨrɨgõ^3
you-Nom work do-DF(2Sg)-Neg-Cont-Temp
kam^5 bàliyà^6/
work-Acc do-RemP
'he^4 did^6 the work^5 before^3 you^1 did^3
(the work)^2'



The two sentences have identical accusative NPs. But no deletion, curiously, occurs in preferred sentences. But in a few instances, we find the deletion of the lower NP giving rise to a sentence like

(315a) /nyú^1 tapẽ́^{2} tháyàyɨ̀mgõ^3 cyá^4 tháliyà^5/
'he^4 ate^5 (rice) before^3 you^1 ate^3
rice^2'

The difference could be due to the semantic nature of the accusative NP. Where it may be a part of a compound verb, there is no deletion (Ref.3.5.3.1.3).

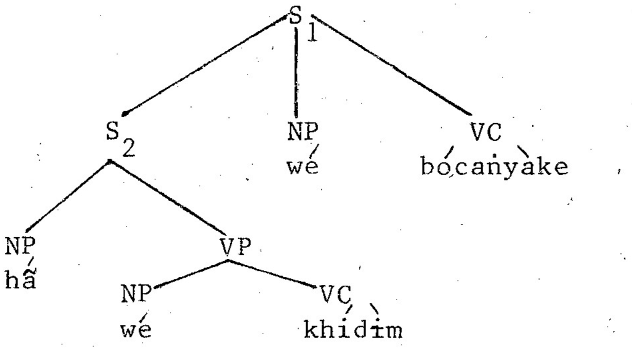
Sequences, which are not topic chains, are subordinated for time specification by adding the appropriate adverbial. Thus given the sentences

(316) /hã́^{1} wédò̃^{2} khídɨ̀m^3/
I-Nom he-Dat reach-IF(1Sg)-Neg
'I^1 reached^3 him^2'

(317) /wé^1 bócaṅyàke^2/
he-Nom go-leave-T
'he^1 left^2'

the generation of a third structure needs the insertion of an adverb /hayó̃gõ/ 'before'

(318) /hã́^{1} wédò̃^{2} khídɨ̀m^3 hayó̃gõ^4 wé^4
bócaṅyàke^6/
'he^5 left^6 before^4 I^1 could reach^3
him^2'



The lower NP, though identical, is not deleted because it is not nominative. Deletion, however, would have been possible if the higher NP were dative.

3.9. Coordination

Coordination, as a principle for generation of sentences, is used only when a sequence of sentences have a common verb complex but different nominative NPs and invariably involves deletion of one of the verb complexes. Depending upon the identity of the nominals in the sentence, the coordination takes two forms.

3.9.1. Conjunction:

$$S \dashrightarrow S_1 + S_2$$

Given the sentences which have a common verb complex and distinct non-identical nominative NPs as seen in the two sentences

(319) /ríṅ^{1} khíge^{2}/
Sun-Nom reach-Mov
'Sun^{1} reached^{2}'

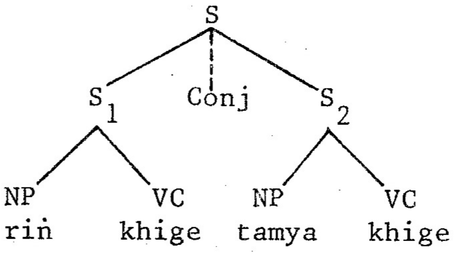
(320) /tamyâ^{1} khíge^{2}/
tiger-Nom reach-Mov
'the tiger^{1} reached^{2}'

we can generate a coordinate structure like (321) wherein, one of the verb complexes is deleted and each of the nominative NPs takes a marker /mu/ roughly meaning 'also'.

(321) /ríṅmu^{1} tamyâmu^{2}
Sun-also-Nom tiger-also-Nom

khíge^{3}/
reach-Mov

'both the Sun^{1} and the tiger^{2} reached^{3}'



Conjunction is possible only with nominative NPs. Other nominals, even if they form topic chains, cannot be conjoined until topicalized to nominatives. Thus given a set of sentences like

(322) /jyimcyane^{1} tamyâ^{2} syéliyà^{3}/ and
Nom Acc RemP
'Jimchane^{1} killed^{3} the tiger^{2}'

(323) /jyimcyane^{1} taméyìṅ^{2} syéliyà^{3}/
Nom Acc RemP
'Jimchane^{1} killed^{3} the elephant^{2}'

we can generate a structure (324)

(324) /taméyìṅwèmu^{1} tamyâwèmu^{2}
elephant-Nom-Conj tiger-Nom-Conj
jyimcyanenà^{3} syéliyà^{4}/
Jimchane-Inst [A] kill-RemP
'Jimchane^{3} killed^{4} both the elephant^{1} and the tiger^{2}'

3.9.2. Reciprocal Constructions:

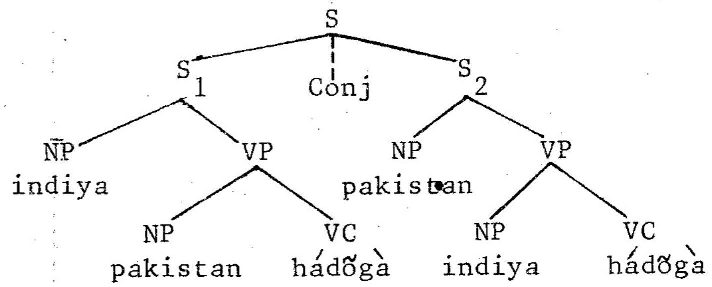
When two consecutive sentences have reversed identity of NPs with common verb complexes, i.e., the nominative NP in the first sentence is coreferential with the accusative NP of the second and the nominative NP of the second sentence is coreferential with the accusative NP of the first, the conjoining takes a different form. One of the verb complexes is deleted. Both the accusative NPs are deleted. The nominative NPs are conjoined by each taking the conjunctive marker /ma/ 'one of a pair'. Thus given the sentences

(325) /indiya^{1} pakistan^{2} hádŏ̃gà^{3}/ and
Nom Acc Pa
'India^{1} fought^{3} Pakistan^{2}'

(326) /pakistan^{1} indiya^{2} hádŏ̃gà^{3}/
Nom Acc Pa
'Pakistan^{1} fought^{3} India^{2}'

we can generate the structure

(327) /indiyama^{1} pakistanma^{2} hádŏ̃gà^{3}/
Conj-Nom Conj-Nom
'India^{1} and Pakistan^{2} fought^{3}(each other)'



– – – –

TEXT

1. bâmèlɨ̀m adî
clan-eight-Poss tale-Nom

(This is) the story of eight clans.

2. bâmèlɨ̀m adîlɨ̀m adîde
clan-eight-Poss tale-eight-Acc tell-P(1Sg)

(I, the story-teller,) tell the eight stories of the eight clans.

3. kathíṅma ajiṅdyabyama
ant-Nom-Rec queen-Nom-Rec

(The tale happened) between a queen and an ant.

4. kathíṅwè ajiṅdyabyawè tapẽ́ asayà
ant-Nom queen-Nom food-Acc give-T
chyígyàla
walk-T-Ret

The ant was taking food for the queen.

The two nominative NPs are the subjects of the two VCs. Both are topics. Throughout the tale, the tense inflexion used is a neutral one instead of past except where the subject and the speaker are coreferential and the subject is speaking for itself.

5. páhwãwè dityusoyà
frog-Nom sit-Ref-RP-T

A frog was sitting in the middle of the road.

6. páhwãwè dityusonàkánám kathíṅwè
frog-Nom sit-Ref-RP-Inst-reason ant-Nom
khɨmyõyàgõ páhwãwè thágyà
be angry-CF-Impl frog-Nom bite-T

The ant, angered, bit the frog which was sitting in the middle of the road.

The event of biting implies the event of becoming angry. The two events are the cause and effect. Hence the embedding is implicative subordination. Further, the instrumental signifies that the second event brings about the third event as a consequence.

7. páhwãwè hrɨgyàgõ tadyásàgkwẽ́nyù
frog-Nom startle-T-Impl squirrel-nest-Loc-Dat

dunabo
jump-Rep-Cau

The frog, startled, jumped through a squirrel nest.

8. tadyáwè khɨmyõnayàgõ
squirrel-Nom be angry-Rep-T-Impl

lakạbsyíg kráṅhajàyàla
wood apple-fruit-Acc bite-drop-T-Ret

The repetitive signifies the previous hapening of the action in the discourse.

9. lakabsyígwè tadyá
wood apple-fruit-Nom squirrel-Nom

lakabsyíg kráṅhajàyàwè
wood apple-fruit-Acc bite-drop-T-Nom

támèthikyã̀nyù hárwinabo
wild boar-lone-Loc-Dat fall-Rep-Cau

The wood apple that was bitten and dropped by the squirrel fell on a lone wild boar.

The causal suffix indicates the existence of an external stimulus (the squirrel). The use of path case suggests that the act of falling did not end there, but continued till, perhaps, the fruit reached the ground.

10. támèthiwè khɨmyɤ̃yàgɤ̃
wild boar-lone-Nom be angry-CF-Impl

ablaṅ píyà
banana-Acc kick-T

The wild boar, angered, kicked down a banana tree.

11. tatyaṅ píyàbola
banana-Acc kick-Cau-Ret

(The wild boar) kicked down a banana tree.

/ablaṅ/ and /tatyaṅ/ usually occur together, as seen in sentence (12).

12. ablaṅ tatyaṅ piyàbogɤ̃
banana-Acc banana-Acc cut-T-Cau-Inst

ablaṅ tatyaṅwè píyasàggɤ̃
banana-Nom banana-Nom bird-nest-Dat

habaàbo
strike-T-Cau

The falling banana trees struck a bird's nest.

13. píyawè khɨmyɤ̃nayàgɤ̃ hrɨgyàgɤ̃
bird-Nom be angry-Rep-CF-Impl startle-CF-Impl

taméyìṅ krùnàkwẽ́nyù laṅnabo
elephant-Poss ear-Loc-Dat enter-Rep-Cau

The bird, angry and startled, flew into the ear of an elephant.

The use of path case instead of simple place perhaps indicates that the bird didn't stay in the ear, but flew out subsequently.

14. taméyìṅwè hrɨgyàgɤ̃ brabmoàbo
elephant-Nom startle-T-Impl run-wild-IF(3Sg)-Cau

The elephant, startled, ran wild.

15. thíyatadáb kádyaṅlyoàbo
hill-snake-Acc kick-fall-IF(3Sg)-Cau

The elephant, kicked and caused hill and such things to fall.

The accusative nominal is a compound which perhaps means that a lot of boulders and trees rolled down and small fauna started fleeing from the wild elephant.

16. phlã́ kádyaṅ hályajà
rock-Nom kick-Nom roll-down

The rocks kicked by the elephant rolled down.

17. phlã́ kádyaṅ hályajàwè ajiṅdyabya
rock-Nom kick-Nom roll-down-Nom queen-Poss

àwè tyusyékõyàla
child-Nom Ref-kill-Def-T-Ret

The rolling stones killed the queen's child.

18. wébó ajindyabyawè kês jyiyàbo
that-go queen-Nom case-Acc do-T-Cau

The queen filed a case in the court.

Note the use of the English word 'case'.

19 kês jyiyàbo hã́ à
case-Acc do-T-Cau I-Poss child-Nom

syẽkõyàla
die-Def-T-Ret

She filed a case that her child died.

20. wékèswè bóbẽ taméyìṅwè láà
that-case-Nom go-Cond queen-Nom say-IF(3Sg)

píyawè hã́ krùnàkwẽ́ laṅthatyugṍ
bird-Nom I-Poss ear-Loc enter-AR-Ref-Impl

brabdebola
run-IF(1Sg)-Cau-Ret

In the course of the case, the elephant said, 'I ran wild because the bird entered into my ear'.

21. píyawè ahúwàbo
bird-Nom ask-IF(3Sg)-Cau

Someone asked the bird.

The topicalization of the accusative noun is clear in this sentence.

22. píyawè láà támèthi hã́
bird-Nom say-IF(3Sg) boar-lone-Nom I-Poss

asàg habayàthatyugõ hrɨgyàgõ
nest-Acc strike-T-AR-Ref-Impl startle-CF-Impl

yɨ̀mdebo
fly-IF(1Sg)-Cau

The bird said, 'I flew because I was startled when the wild boar knocked down my nest'.

23. támèthiwè láà hã́ tyaṅkyã̀nyù
boar-lone-Nom say-IF(3Sg) I-Poss body-Loc-Dat

lakabsyíg tyônatyu
wood apple-fruit-Acc throw-Rep-Ref

The boar said, '(somebody) threw a wood apple on me'.

24. hrɨgyàgõ hã́ khɨmyõnayàgõ
startle-CF-Impl I-Nom be angry-Rep-CF-Impl

jyidebola
do-IF(1Sg)-Cau-Ret

'So, startled and angry, I did whatever I did'.

25. wé bóà raniwè kês
that-Nom go-IF(3Sg) queen-Nom case-Acc

jyiyàbobẽ kathíṅwèkyã̀ khíbo
do-T-Cau-Cond ant-Nom-Loc reach-Cau

As it went on, the queen now accused the ant.

26.

kathíṅwè	láàbo	hã́	raninyù
ant-Nom	say-IF(3Sg)-Cau	I-Nom	queen-Dat(?)
tapẽ́	asabonela		
fōod-Acc	give-go-DF(1Sg)-Ret		
chyígdegõ	páhwã́ é		dityugõ
walk-IF(1Sg)-Inst	frog	this-Nom	sit-Ref-Impl
hã́	thágdebo	magõ	
I-Nom	bite-IF(1Sg)-Cau		

The ant said, 'As I was taking food for the queen, this frog blocked the road, and, as a result, I bit it'.

27.

wé	páhwãwèkyã̀	khíbo	kês
that-Nom	frog-Nom-Loc	reach-Cau	case-Acc
tiyàwè			
indict-T-Nom			

Now the frog was indicted in this case.

28.

kês	tiyàwè	páhwãwèkyã̀
case-Acc	indict-T-Nom	frog-Nom-Loc
khíboà		
reach-go-IF(3SG)		

The frog is indicted.

29.

ajiṅdyabya	raniwuċewè	páhwãwè
queen-Nom	queen-particular-Nom	frog-Nom
dɨmiṅtacha	yõkõyà	
nettles-Acc	bring-Def-T	

The queen brought (struck with) nettles to the frog.

30.

dɨmiṅtacha	aba	taphrabkowàwègõ
nettles-Nom	strike	wart-Nom-Inst
khògàla	taphrodalyo	
be ugly-Ret	spotted	

When struck with nettles, the frog skin became warty and ugly.

The use of /-gõ/ with the noun seems to be peculiar. If implicative, it should have occurred with the verb /aba-/.

31. syakõyàla
happen-Def-T-Ret

(Thus) happened (the tale).

- - - -

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benedict, Paul L. (1972) : Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus. James A. Matisoff. Ed. (University Press, Cambridge).

Benveniste, E. (1948) : Noms d'agent et Noms d'action en Indo-European (Adrien-Maisoneuve, Paris).

Bose, S.C. (1972) : Geography of the Himalayas (National Book Trust, New Delhi).

Brown, Rev. N. (1837) : Comparison of Indo-Chinese Languages, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.6 (pp.1029 and ff; notes on Mishmi on pp.1026; vocabulary of Digaru on pp.1032).

Campbell, Sir G. (1974) : Specimens of Languages of India, including those of the Aboriginal Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces and the Eastern Frontier (Calcutta).

Chafe, Wallace L. (1973) : Meaning and the Structure of Language (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

Chao, Yuen-ren (1920) : A System of Tone Letters, in *Le Maître Phonétique*, 45 : 24-27.

Chomsky, N. (1957) : Syntactic Structures (Mouton, The Hague).

Chomsky, N. (1965) : Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.).

Chomsky, N. (1971) : Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation, in *Steinberg and Jacobovits*.

Cooke, Joseph R. (1968) : Pronominal Reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Dalton, Edward T. (1872) : Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (Calcutta); account of Mishmi on pp.13 and ff.

Dixon, R.M.W. (1972) : The Dyirbal Language of North Queensland (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).

Fillmore, C.J. (1968) : The Case for Case, in *E. Bach and R. Harms, Eds. Universals in Linguistic Theory* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Fillmore, C.J. (1971) : Verbs of Judging: An Exercise in Semantic Description, in *C.J. Fillmore and D. Terence Langendoen, Eds. Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Fillmore, C.J. (1977) : The Case for Case Reopened, in *Peter Cole and Jerrold M. Sadock, Eds. Syntax and Semantics Vol.8 - Grammatical Relations* (Academic Press, Inc., New York).

Gait, E.A. (1892) : Assam, Vol.I, Report, in *Census of India, 1891* (Shillong).

Gazetteer of India (1973) : Country and People.

Grierson (1967) : Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.III (Reprint).

Guenthner, Franz and Rohrer, C. Eds. (1978) : Studies in Formal Semantics - Intensionality, Temporality, Negation (North-Holland, New York).

Halliday, M.A.K. (1961) : Categories of the Theory of Grammar, in *Word*, 17 : 241-92.

Halliday, M.A.K. and McIntosh, A. (1967) : Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, in *Journal of Linguistics*, 3 : 37-81 and 199-244.

Hockett, C.F. (1976) : A Course in Modern Linguistics (Oxford-IBH, New Delhi).

Hutchins, W.J. (1971) : The Generation of Syntactic Structures from a Semantic Base (North-Holland, Amsterdam).

Kelly, John (1966) : A Note on Lip-rounding, in *Le Maître Phonétique*, 125 : 8-9.

Konow, Sten (1902) : Note on the Languages Spoken between the Assam Valley and Tibet, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

Ladefoged, Peter (1973) : Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

Langdon, Margaret (1970) : A Grammar of Diegueno - the Mesa Grande Dialect (The University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Li, Charles N. Ed. (1976) : Subject and Topic (Academic Press, Inc., New York).

Lyons, John (1977) : Semantics (University Press, Cambridge).

Matisoff, James A. (1973) : The Grammar of Lahu (The University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles).

McCawley, J.D. (1968) : Concerning the Base Component of a Transformational Grammar, in *Foundations of Language,* 4 : 243-69.

McCawley, J.D. (1971) : Tense and Time Reference in English, in *Fillmore and Langendoen, Eds. Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Mitchell, J.F. (1973) : The North-East Frontier of India (Vivek).

Needham, J.F. (1886) : A Few Dîgârô (Tarôan), Mîjû (Mijû), and Tibetan Words collected during a trip from Sadiya to Rima and Back in December 1885 and January 1886.

Nilsen, D.L.F. (1972) : Toward a Semantic

Specification of Deep Case (Mouton, The Hague).

Pike, K.L. (1948) : Tone Languages (The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor).

Pike, K.L. and Hale, A. (1970) : Studies in Tone and Phonological Segment (Wolfenden Society and the University of Illinois, Chicago).

Postal, Paul M. (1971) : On the Surface Verb 'Remind', in *Fillmore and Langendoen, Eds. Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Quirk, R. and Greenbaum, S. (1973) : A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English (Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc., New York).

Robinson, W. (1856) : Note on the Languages Spoken by the Mishmis, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 24.

Samarin, W.J. (1967) : Field Linguistics (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Schmidt, P.W. (1912) : Personal Pronomina in den Australischen Sprachen, in *Anthropos*.

Seuren, P.A.M. (1969) : Operators and Nucleus - A Contribution to the Theory of Grammar (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).

Shafer, R. (1955) : Classification of Sino-Tibetan Languages, in *Word*, 11 : 94-111.

Shapiro, M. and Schiffman, H.F. (1975) : Final Report: Language and Society in South Asia (US Department of Health Education and Welfare, Office of Education, International Studies Branch, Washington, D.C.).

Staal, J.F. (1967) : Word Order in Sanskrit and Universal Grammar (Dordrecht, Reidel).

Teng, Shou-hsin (1975) : A Semantic Study of Transitivity Relations (University of Calif. Publications, Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Thompson, S.A. (1971) : The Deep Structure of Relative Clauses, in *Fillmore and Langendoen, Eds. Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, New York).

Trubetzkoy, N.S. (1969) : Principles of Phonology. C.A.M. Baltaxe, Tr. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles).

Wang, William (1967) : Phonological Features of Tone, in *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 33 : 93-105.

Ward, Lieut. G.L.S. (1901) : Military Report on the Mishmi Country (The Intelligence Branch, Quarter Master General's Department, Simla).

- - - -